The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai

From 1736 to 1761.

VOLUME VIII.

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THE DIARY

OF

ANANDA RANGA PILLAI

TRANSLATED FROM THE TAMIL BY ORDER OF
THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

EDITED BY

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INTRODUCTION.

The present instalment of the Diary covers the period from May 3, 1751, to December 8, 1753. As will be seen from the list of entries, they are very irregular. No reason can be assigned for this, as it has not been possible to check the Madras transcript with the original Diary which was formerly preserved at Pondichery, or even with the transcript made by M. Gallois-Montbrun. Mr. Singâravêlu Pillai, to whom the discovery of the MS. was originally due and to whose courteous and learned aid I have often had recourse, informs me that the Gallois-Montbrun papers were irreparably damaged by the cyclone which raged at Pondichery in 1916, and that the original Diary for this period has long since disappeared. More than one passage in the Madras transcript is evidently corrupt; but the most important cases of this are indicated in my foot-notes.

The eighteen months covered by the present part of Ranga Pillai's Diary include much of a most dramatic nature. In May 1751, South India seemed at the feet of the French. Nâsîr Jang had been slain; the Subahdari of the Deccan was held by a nominee of the French, supported by a French army. All that visibly

remained to be done was the reduction of a few small jaghirdars in the Carnatic and the capture of Trichinopoly. It was not thought that the English could offer serious opposition to this programme; and should they attempt it, their previous military record in the Carnatic augured no great power of resistance.

Accordingly, after reducing a few of the Carnatic grandees to obedience and the payment of tribute, Chandâ Sâhib set out with a body of French troops under the unenterprising command of d'Auteuil to attack Trichinopoly. Attempts had already been made to induce Muhammad 'Alî to acquiesce in the new state of things. In the very month in which this volume of the Diary opens, a cowle from Salabat Jang was sent to him with a letter from Dupleix, offering him the Government of the six circars under Chicacole. These documents are not mentioned by the diarist; probably he had no knowledge of them: they are printed, it is believed for the first time, in the Appendix. But the terms offered were not good enough. They included the remission of all dues owing by Muhammad 'Alî's father; but it appears that this was interpreted not to include the arrears of the *chauth* owing to the Marathas. Accordingly Muhammad 'Alî amused Chandâ Sâhib and

the French by continuing the negotiations, but at the same time he wrote urgently to the English at Fort St. David for their assistance in defending Trichinopoly.

This was given, but not in the most effectual form. The senior English officer, Captain Rudolf Gingens, was sent out with all the troops that could be spared from the English garrisons, but his idea of defending Trichinopoly was to march as fast as possible under the walls of that fortress and there remain. Nor could he be drawn out into the open either by the near approach of Chandâ Sâhib or by the urgent commands of the English Council. On his march to Trichinopoly he had had indeed a couple of skirmishes with the enemy : and they seem to have inspired him with such distrust both of his own capacity of successful command and of his troops' fighting powers that perhaps it was as well that he refused action until a more confident and competent officer could control operations.

But the French were under the leadership of an officer whose chief claim to command was his family connection with the Governor. D'Auteuil was a fair match for Gingens. Both could be trusted to take the greatest care not to come within striking distance of the other ; and if that happened by accident, to get out of reach as fast as possible. Time and again

Chandâ Sâhib complained of the inaction of the principal French leader. He refused to cross the Coleroon. Even when the French had been encouraged by the distribution of 2 lakhs of rupees, they still lay motionless in their encampment. In vain did Dupleix scold Madame d'Auteuil and write angry letters to his brother-in-law. At last in September 1751, he recalled him, and entrusted the command to a much younger officer, Jacques Law.

It is curious to consider that all this time Dupleix had under his hand at Pondichery an officer of undoubted military talent. This was the Chevalier de la Tour. "La Compagnie ne sçauroit trop ménager de pareils officiers," the Pondichery Council had written of him in 1744. He had speedily proved the justice of their praise by demonstrating, before the battle of the Adyar, the effectiveness of artillery against Indian cavalry. But he probably lacked the courtier's art, and certainly lacked the advantage of family relationship with the Governor. Accordingly he was passed over, and presently resigned rather than serve under his junior d'Auteuil. This nepotism must be included among the causes which ruined Dupleix. D'Auteuil was useless as a soldier and treacherous as a negotiator. His employment in positions of trust was a great mistake. Indeed the statesman is often enough in the same

position as the card-player. Neither can afford to neglect opportunities ; he who does so will most bitterly repent it, whether at the bridge-table or at the Council-board.

As if to point this truth, at the very moment when Dupleix was ignoring his own trump-card, the English Governor, Thomas Saunders, despatched Clive against Arcot. The secret of the project seems to have been well kept. Clive and his detachment sailed from St. David's on August 22 O.S. ; but news that we were sending men against Arcot did not reach Dupleix for a week. The blame of this must not lie upon Ranga Pillai. Dupleix had already ceased to employ him to gather political news, which duty was left to the care of Madame Dupleix. The siege itself made little impression upon people in Pondichery. They did not know that they were watching the turn of the tide. Dupleix alone regarded it as serious, and that because it threatened to derange the precariously balanced condition of the French finances. He was so angry at this horrid thought that the Chief Dubâsh feared to appear before him. But otherwise the English enterprise was regarded as an insignificant raid which must come to a sudden end as soon as Chandâ Sâhib had possession of Trichinopoly. Ranga Pillai therefore records no details of the event which

seems of so great importance in English eyes. Nor does he dwell upon the great victory which Clive achieved soon after at Cauverypauk. Indeed, apart from the cursory accounts of the subsequent captures of Covelong and Chingleput, one gathers little from Ranga Pillai about Clive's activities and importance in these critical years, except by an accidental remark that, when Dupleix seized the company of Swiss troops passing by Pondichery at sea, he hoped that he was going to capture the great Englishman.

Meanwhile operations dragged on against Trichinopoly. Law proved a more enterprising soldier than d'Auteuil, but equally unskilful. The progress of events is occasionally mentioned ; but we are told nothing of importance and little of interest. The most curious incident recorded by the diarist is certainly that amusing case of diamond cut diamond, mentioned in the Diary of December 31, 1751, when one of Muhammad 'Alî's commanders tried to entrap Hasan-ud-dîn by a pretended desire to desert and join Chandâ Sâhib, while Hasan-ud-dîn displayed equal good faith. Hasan-ud dîn was of course a special mark for Muhammad 'Alî's vengeance because he was believed to have been the man who slew Anwar-ud-dîn at the battle of Ambûr. Later on we find him kept a close prisoner after he

had fallen into the hands of the English, and on April 28, 1753, is entered a long and interesting account of his escape from Fort St. David.

But if we learn little from the Diary about the siege of Trichinopoly, we learn a great deal about the coming of the news of Chandâ Sâhib's tragic fate. Pondichery was full of strange rumours. Law was said to have deserted to the English. On June 13, 1752, a refugee came in disguised in Moorish turban and gown, with news of d'Auteuil's defeat. After hearing his news, Dupleix conducted him to his wife's apartments, looking so troubled that Ranga Pillai retired to his own office rather than encounter him. Two days later came the tidings that Chandâ Sâhib had been made prisoner, none the less bitter because Fort St. David welcomed the event with a salute. And on June 17 arrived the defeated d'Auteuil bearing news that Chandâ Sâhib was not only captured but executed. Dupleix was overwhelmed. He would not go to mass; he could not even eat his dinner. It was indeed the downfall of all his plans. Not that he was quite unprepared to do without Chandâ Sâhib; had he not already obtained for himself a sanad from Salabat Jang appointing him Subahdar of the Carnatic? And had he not decided that if Chandâ Sâhib

objected to this transfer of power, that recalcitrant prince should be shipped off to Mecca to repent of his misdeeds? But such a removal of Chandâ Sâhib was a very different matter from having him defeated and slain by an enemy, and by an enemy whom he had a hundred times represented to the Company and the ministers as powerless and on the point of overthrow. While Ranga Pillai reflected that the injustice of his French masters had thus brought about the downfall of their ally, Dupleix perceived that events had belied his promises and that this misfortune was but the precursor of worse.

All the year was unfortunate for Dupleix' schemes. Scarcely a month earlier, news had come that the treasury of Salabat Jang was exhausted. Only a week beforehand he had scolded the merchants because they were applying for money with which to carry on the investment instead of providing it (contrary to age-old custom) out of their own funds. He was at his wit's end for money when this political catastrophe befell.

The arrival of the Europe shipping permitted him a short respite. He once more sent an army into the field, under the command this time of his nephew, de Kerjean, freshly come from gathering golden laurels in the Deccan. The English too made a blunder. For once in

a way Saunders was deserted by his usual sound good sense, and projected an attack upon Gingee. In vain did Lawrence go up by boat from Fort St. David to Madras in order to represent the unwisdom of this measure. The expedition proceeded under the command of an officer newly arrived from Europe, Major Kinneer. He was never able to make an attempt upon Gingee, in spite of the story told by Ranga Pillai of his repulse before that fortress; but he contrived to get himself well-beaten by Kerjean at Vikravândi, and Dupleix saw himself once more on the high-road to victory, while Madame declared that now at last God would bless them with the head of Muhammad 'Alî. The threatened prince was however destined to survive for another forty years.

That was in the month of August. Towards the close of the month Kerjean had orders to advance southward to check the raids of the Maratha horse who accompanied the army of Muhammad 'Alî. It appears that the distrust which Dupleix had felt about his nephew's capacity to defeat the English early in the month had given place to a considerable degree of confidence. On September 2, he tells Ranga Pillai that the rains alone have prevented the French troops from attacking the English. The author of the action which

followed must have been Dupleix himself. His caution only reawakened after the crushing defeat which Kerjean suffered at Bâhûr on September 5. We may at least be sure that they are wrong who conjecture Kerjean felt anxiety about being superseded by the arrival of any officer with the troops which were still expected; he was the Governor's nephew; what surer guarantee could he have asked?

The defeat of Bâhûr reduced the French to military inactivity for the next six months. But this only redoubled the political activity of Dupleix. First we have the efforts to seduce Muhammad 'Alî. By a strange piece of fortune the very day that brought the news of d'Auteuil's defeat and surrender at Ranjangudi, brought also letters from Salabat Jang agreeing to leave Muhammad 'Alî in peaceful possession of Trichinopoly. The position was too critical for a moment to be lost. That very day Dupleix wrote to Saunders offering a settlement on those terms. The English had already heard that Law was on the point of surrender. They therefore considered the offer as dictated by circumstances with which Salabat Jang had no manner of concern. Their scepticism was doubtless natural; but, unless Ranga Pillai was misinformed in a matter on which he is usually reliable enough, they were mistaken. But Dupleix pitched his

terms too high. He demanded the release of all prisoners before he would pursue the negotiations further. To his opponents this looked as if he were inviting them to give up for nothing the positive advantages gained at Trichinopoly. Accordingly nothing came of the opening. Before Bâhûr he contemptuously rejected Muhammad 'Alî's offer of jaghirs; after Bâhûr he similarly treated the latter's offer to act under him as Naib. Nothing but the release of the prisoners would satisfy him. In that the event proved him to be unwise. He was demanding what the English alone could concede, and, one must suppose, intentionally rejecting Muhammad 'Alî's overtures.

The reason doubtless was financial. Muhammad 'Alî had no resources with which to buy pardon for the troubles which his English friends had caused; nor could he be trusted to give the French that exclusive devotion which they required. Dupleix therefore remained bent on destroying him, if that could in any way be accomplished. And the Nawâb's folly afforded an opening by which Dupleix could still hope to split up the confederacy which had brought Chandâ Sâhib to his humble grave at Trichinopoly. That confederacy had included two groups, the Nawâb, the Râjâ of Tanjore and the English, who were the natural enemies of Chandâ Sâhib and

the French, and the Mysoreans and Morâri Râo, who were ready to join either side for what they could get out of them. On November 8, 1751, Chandâ Sâhib is reported to have come to an agreement with Mysore, which Dupleix disliked as it afforded no supplies of ready money; presently Muhammad 'Alî overbid his rival with an offer of Trichinopoly, and on December 13 the French knew that Mysore was going to join the other side. This also carried with it the assistance of Morâri Râo who with a considerable body of Maratha cavalry had taken temporary service with Nandi Râjâ, the Mysorean leader. As soon as Chandâ Sâhib was safely underground, Nandi Râjâ claimed the immediate execution of Muhammad 'Alî's promises; this was refused; and the news of the resulting quarrel was known in Pondichery on July 7, 1752. This was enough to set Dupleix and his wife to work at once, though the intrigue apparently was not known to the diarist until October. It was not immediately successful with Nandi Râjâ, who had already spent so much money before Trichinopoly that he was reluctant to contribute more, while Dupleix only cared for his alliance on condition of its providing funds for his continuing the war against Muhammad 'Alî. Accordingly the negotiation lingered on until February 1753 when Dupleix was able

to bring Mysore to terms by applying the threat of invasion by Salabat Jang and Bussy. When the matter was at last settled, Nandi Râjâ agreed to pay four lakhs of rupees down and three lakhs a year until Trichinopoly was captured. Of these affairs we find little or nothing in the diary. Probably little was going forward in 1752, when the diary is full, whereas when the negotiation must have been most active, in the first two months of 1753, the diary is very incomplete.

However Ranga Pillai tells us a good deal about the agreement with Morâri Râo. On October 20 we hear that he has been promised a lakh and a quarter a month. On November 26 we find the substance of a letter addressed to him, together with a statement that an agreement had been reached; and a month later we read of the formal conclusion of a treaty, to which both parties solemnly swore, setting their finger-marks to the document in saffron. By this Morâri Râo was promised a present of two lakhs, payable half at once and half in a month's time, with a regular subsidy of a lakh a month, and as honourable a reception when he came to Pondichery as had been formerly accorded to Muzaffar Jang.

The main difficulty was to make good the financial part of these proposals. Pâpayya Pillai, the heir of generations of beggars and

Receiver-General of the country revenues, was called upon to find the money immediately required. It appears that he was unable to do so and that (without the knowledge of Dupleix) he settled matters for the moment by giving his bond for a lakh and a half for the lakh that had been promised in cash.

The natural expedient which occurred to Dupleix to secure the performance of his new obligations was to create a new Nawâb. The person whom he thought most likely to pay highly for that honour was the man who had already slain two Nawâbs, Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore. Here again Ranga Pillai says nothing of the details, but he describes Murtazâ 'Alî's visit to Pondichery in March 1753. The new Nawâb arrived on the 7th and departed on the 26th. Dupleix thought but lightly of his creature, and spoke of him in terms even coarser than he usually allowed himself about his Indian allies, declaring that he looked as if he was the son of a vagrant French surgeon who had once lived at Vellore. At last Murtazâ 'Alî departed, full of promises of the money he would send as soon as he got back to Vellore, "being desirous," as Ranga Pillai observes, "to get away quietly without being troubled to remain."

But these expedients afforded only temporary reliefs. In July 1753, Ranga Pillai

reckoned that Pâpayya Pillai had furnished (probably in the previous twelve months) 4 or 5 lakhs from the country revenues, and that Nandi Râjâ, Murtazâ 'Alî, Mudâmiah of Chidambaram, etc., had supplied about 10 lakhs more. But all this had been spent and more besides. In the following August even Salabat Jang was demanding money, though of course in vain. The fact seems to have been that French control of the Deccan was more beneficial to individuals than to the State. Bussy was a great man but an expensive general. He might go home with a fortune, buy an estate and marquisate, and marry into a ducal family; Dupleix and his wife might receive presents and jaghirs and even devote part of their fortune to the wars of the Carnatic; but it does not appear that the Company's treasury ever reaped any benefit from the great adventure of the Deccan, which, apart from private gains, never even paid for itself. All through 1753 Dupleix was hard-pressed for money. He even became so irritable with his perpetual money difficulties that he entirely lost his temper when he received a bill for 3 lakhs from Nandi Râjâ payable six weeks after sight, and Madame had to assure the vakîl that she would explain things to him.

This scarcity of money naturally embarrassed his relations with Morâri Râo. That chieftain was no altruist to fight without pay. Even in April 1753 he had begun to complain of the arrears into which his subsidy was falling. In July he was preparing to withdraw. At this time he addressed a letter to Dupleix in which he pointed out with great clearness the military defects of his ally's policy: "You should undertake only one affair at a time," he says. "But you indiscreetly seek to finish all affairs at the same time. . . . How can you hope to succeed everywhere at once? First you tell me to march against Arcot, then against Trichinopoly, then against Devikôttai, and then against Chidambaram and Vriddhachalam. If you write thus where can I go and how can affairs prosper? My coming has cost you money, but I have lost good sardârs, my younger brothers, and many men, without succeeding at any point." Little service was henceforth to be obtained from this ill-satisfied and ill-directed auxiliary; and at the close of the year we read of the escape of his hostage from Pondichery. The alliance with Morâri Râo was at an end. It had been broken partly by Dupleix' failure to pay, partly by the offers made on behalf of the Nawâb.

Nor was the alliance with Nandi Râjâ much more fruitful of military results. The

Mysoreans and French lay before Trichinopoly all the year through without securing one substantial success. In three considerable actions they were well beaten by Lawrence while Dupleix was amused by false rumours of victory. At the close of the year Pâpayya Pillai brought him news that Mainville had succeeded in his attempted escalade ; but the same day he had to return to his master and tell him it was all a mistake, receiving in return "the usual courtesy of kicks and blows."

Even in the Deccan events were more flattering than prosperous. Soon after the death of Chandâ Sâhib news came that Ghâzi-ud-dîn was coming from Delhi to dispute possession of the seven Subahs with Salabat Jang, and that he was to be supported by the whole force of the Marathas. While the event of this was still depending, Dupleix received the parwâna from the Emperor confirming Salabat Jang's grant of the Carnatic. Ranga Pillai's narrative throws no direct light on the contested authenticity of the document ; he was not in the secret, if secret there were ; but he tells us how Dupleix went out in state to receive it, with the naubat, the Fish-standard, and flags on elephants and horses ; and how delighted the Governor was, even just after Bâhûr with his nephew lying

desperately wounded and his army destroyed, at receiving the parwâna written on paper such as was used in a formal address to one of equal rank. If the parwâna were genuine, lavish gifts must have gone to procure it ; and in any case, whether it really bore the signature of the Protector of the World and the Champion of the Faith, or whether it had been concocted by some *mutasaddi* at Hyderabad or Delhi, it may be doubted whether it was worth its cost.

That Dupleix should have so valued it, or affected so to value it, betrays the obsession which he shared with Bussy, and indeed even with his English contemporaries,—the curious respect felt for the name of the Moghul coupled as it was with a complete contempt for the actual powers of India. It seems odd that people, in most ways so clear-sighted, should have been deceived by the empty name of Delhi. The empire stood ready to fall into whatever hands were skilful and strong enough to seize it. Yet Dupleix and Bussy plumed themselves on the position they had secured in the Deccan because half a century earlier that position would have enabled them to give the law to the Carnatic. And when Ghâzi-ud-dîn was poisoned—by Salabat Jang's mother, as the usual story runs, by his kitchen-people, as the Southern shroffs told Ranga Pillai,—it still seemed worth while, in spite of

Salabat Jang's bankruptcy, to keep a French contingent at Hyderabad for the sake of the legal fictions which Dupleix was thus enabled to put forward, and which he hoped would seem more imposing at London than they did at Madras.

Meanwhile ill-success was plainly reflected in his temper. More than once Ranga Pillai feared to approach him; and Pâpayya Pillai, his successful rival, must have often wondered amidst his tribulations whether his success had been worth while. Nor was it only Indians who found him unapproachable. He abuses ships' officers; and vents his spite against Saunders in such inappropriate phrases as "thievish dog" and "fool." The combined effects of misfortunes and feminine persistency manifest themselves in another way. Madame was allowed to do very much what she pleased. She was permitted for instance to perform that startling deed which must have shaken the whole of Hindu Pondichery to its foundations,—the baptism, namely, of a Hindu upon his death-bed, in spite of the protests of his relations, and the refusal of every respectable Christian priest in Pondichery to have anything to do with it. Again in the Holy Week of 1753 Dupleix takes to unaccustomed observances, half-masting the flag and bestowing unusual sums in charity. "But of what

avail is all this?" asks the Tamil *courtier*. "God favours those only who turn from cruelty to do good."

With a quaint touch of irony, the wonderful new *Gouvernement* in the Fort, whence Dupleix was to have reigned all over Southern India, was just being finished when its builder learnt of Chandâ Sâhib's death and Law's surrender. We catch glimpses of the allegorical figures with which it was decorated and of the great hall plated with silver and hung with green-laced curtains. For its brief duration of nine years—it had taken nearly twice that time to build—it was the most splendid palace of the South, with its gilded chambers, and wide cool verandahs and snow-white pillars. In 1761 most of its ornaments were bought by the Nawâb Muhammad 'Alî, and probably used in his new palace of Chepauk. In neither case did they afford their owner much serenity of mind. It was as though a curse had clung to them.

All this the diarist watched with many premonitions of disaster. The gods had bestowed much on Pondichery; they were about to take back their gifts. The fortunate Governor who could not tear his shirt without finding reason to rejoice at the accident, had become the unconvinced hearer of flattering prophecies in which the *courtier* himself

had ceased to believe. His intercourse with the Governor had declined much also. In the period covered by the present volume he attended daily, but it was only to report the amount of grain that had been carried into the town or the number of bales of cloth that had been packed. He had dropped for the most part out of political affairs, probably from the time when Madame began to become more prominent. More than one intrigue is here mentioned in which he took no part and of which apparently he had no knowledge. In spite of all, however, he contrived to hear a good deal, for even Madame could not dispense with agents from whom he learnt the current events.

ERRATA.

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233	6	Bourgogue	Bourgogne

ÀNANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY.

MAY 1751.

Monday, May 3.[1]—This morning the Governor sent for me. After some talk, he went into his room; but then, coming out again, asked me about the English near Tiruviti. I replied, 'They are still there. Mr. Cope and the other Europeans who attacked Madura but were forced to fly, have reached Trichinopoly. It took 150 dhoolies to bring the wounded to Devikôttai. The Europeans also reached Devikôttai in three parties of 50 or 60 each. The Fort St. David people have recalled Mr. Cope, who will certainly be blamed for what has happened.[2] 5,000 Mysore horse and 10,000 foot are at Dindigul. When Mr. Cope marched to Madura that way, he disturbed them, so in revenge they lay in wait

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[1] *24th Chittirai, Prajôtpatti.*

[2] For Cope's attempt on Madura, see Orme, Vol. I, pp. 168, etc. There is an interesting account in a letter written by Cope to Dalton in the *Orme MSS.* (*Various*, Vol. XV, ff. 103, etc.). According to Cope, he had with him 180 military and Coffrees, and 550 sepoys, together with 5,500 country troops (horse and foot), apparently under the Nawâb's brother 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân. He had expected to take the town with ease, but lacked ammunition with which to make a practicable breach.

to seize him on his return ; but he escaped, as he passed by alone at night. Men say that they will teach Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops a lesson if they come near enough. This is what men are saying, but when Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân's parwâna came, it was said that they had sent help to Muhammad 'Alî Khân. So no one can say what they will do.' The Governor then observed, 'In spite of repeated orders, the English obstinately continue their efforts, by reason of their shameless thirst for Muhammad 'Alî Khân's money.' I replied, 'They have no one to furnish money and help whenever needed, as we have. The whole country laughs at their greediness.'—'True,' he said and then asked if all the Bhuvanagiri money had been collected.

Wednesday, May 19.[1]—This morning a Europe ship anchored in the roads and fired 17 guns. She is the *Duc de Parme*, Monsieur le Chevalier de Rhius, captain. I hear that she has on board 133 chests of silver, 40 bales of broadcloth, 40 soldiers, and a Portuguese gentleman.[2]

[1] *9th Vaigâsi, Prajôtpatti.*

[2] This was probably the Baron de Vielorie, who in the next month demanded the rendition of St. Thomé from the English (*French Correspondence, 1751*, pp. 15, etc.). As soon as the English Council heard of his arrival, they resolved that the place should be garrisoned and that Robins should make it defensible (Extraordinary Occurrences, May 27, 1751).

The Governor told the new merchants that they were fortunate, in that a Europe ship had arrived as soon as the Council had decided to appoint them Company's merchants.

When her captain came ashore, he saw the Governor, who afterwards told me the following news :—

'This ship has 133 chests of silver [1] and 40 bales of broadcloth. The ship which sailed just before her has put into some harbour and will arrive in ten days. Forty soldiers have come by this ship, and there are more on the way. The old King of Portugal is dead,[2] and the young king is impetuous, so he made much ado about Mr. Boscawen's hoisting the English flag at Mylapore, demanding that Mr. Boscawen should be punished ; and it has been decided to hoist the Portuguese flag again.[3] Padre Antonio has been granted the title of bishop.[4] Sixteen ships laden home from this place, Bengal, China, Mascareigne, etc., have reached

[1] 10,000 marcs. *Mémoire pour la Compagnie contre le sieur Dupleix, Pièces Justificatives*, p. 120.

[2] John V, who had reigned since 1706, was succeeded in 1750 by Joseph (1750—1777).

[3] I do not think official representations were made in Europe regarding the seizure of St. Thomé, but the Portuguese envoy (d'Andrade) demanded the release of Padre Antonio Noronha, which was granted (Letter from d'Andrade, May 23, 1750, *ap.* State Papers Foreign, Foreign Ministers, Portugal, No. 42, and Aldworth to the Admiralty, June 1, 1750, *ap.* Admiralty, 1—4119, P.R.O.).

[4] Bishop of Halicarnassus. See Cultru, *Dupleix*, p. 333, and the *Lettres de Bussy*, p. 98, n.

the Company's port of L'Orient; and the profit on their cargoes is a crore and a half of rupees more than usual. The English Company owes 4 crores of rupees in Europe and a crore in Bengal; and the Madras merchants are indebted to the Armenians; so the English Company will break up and a new Company be formed.' He went in to read his letters, and went to Mortândi Choultry in the evening.

I do not know why the Portuguese noble has come out by this ship.

Saturday, May 22.[1]—At sunrise this morning, Râmâ Râo, vakîl of Bâlâji Râo, son of Nawâb Bhâji Râo, arrived with presents. M. Albert,[2] M. Delarche, Ânanda Ranga Râi the Victorious, who merits the viziership,[3] Pâpayya Pillai and others, accompanied him from the Valudâvûr gate to the gate of the Fort with the Company's dancing-girls and their attendant musicians and actors, the Company's palankins, peons, naubat, etc. The military were drawn out and the kettledrums sounded. When the gifts were brought and presented to the Governor, a salute of 15 guns was fired.[4]

[1] *12th Vaigâsi, Prajôtpatti.*
[2] François Xavier, brother of Mme. Dupleix.
[3] The diarist.
[4] This embassy must have been in consequence of the terms made by Bussy near the Kistna with Bâlâji Râo about six weeks earlier.

The Governor's present consisted of four brilliant and costly jewels, with five boxes containing precious stones, and a horse. Madame's present consisted of rich cloths and garments, with two jewels and three boxes containing precious stones.[1]

As the Governor is still out of town, I went to the nut-godown this morning, and then came home.

I hear that Shaikh Hasan marched five or six days ago with 2,000 musketeers against Bommarâjapâlaiyam. I also hear that Chandâ Sâhib has reached Tiruvannâmalai, on his way to Trichinopoly,[2] and that he will halt there 10 or 15 days and pay up his sepoys and horsemen. To-night I heard that the English army had reached Tiruvennanallûr.[3]

Monday, May 24.[4]—The Governor told me to write letters to the Râjâs of Mysore and Tanjore and to the 72 poligars of Trichinopoly.[5]

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[1] The Tamil of this passage is obscure and possibly corrupt.

[2] In the previous month he had received the submission of the killedars of Chêtpattu, Arni and Vellore ; and regarded the Carnatic as secure.

[3] Gingens was ordered to march to Ûtatûr, in order to cover Trichinopoly, on May $\frac{6}{17}$ (Extraordinary Occurrences, 1751).

[4] *14th Vaigâsi, Prajôtpatti. The diary of the* [*19th*] *is written here for want of room in the proper place.* It has been printed above.

[5] In preparation of Chandâ Sâhib's march southwards.

I write below the names of the 72 poligars of Trichinopoly :—

Malavarâyan of Ariyalûr,[1] Sêtupati,[2] Udaiyâ Thêvan,[3] the Reddi of Turaiyûr,[4] Pûchiya Nâyakkan,[5] Lakkaya Nâyakkan,[6] Kammaya Nâyakkan,[7] Kâmâkshi Nâyakkan, Lingama Nâyakkan,[8] Muttaya Nâyakkan,[9] Vallakondama Nâyakkan,[10] Sâmaya Nâyakkan,[11] Ammaya Nâyakkan,[12] Kûlappa Nâyak-

[1] North-east of Trichinopoly. The Mackenzie Manuscripts (Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library) have the following account of Malavarâyan in he *Local Records*, Vol. VIII, ff. 334—347 :—He assumed the management of the pâlaiyam in 1739 ; he made himself master of the neighbouring pâlaiyam called Udaiyârpâlaiyam, and in 1742 assisted Basava Reddi to become poligar of Turaiyûr. He died in 1762. His peshkash is said to have been Rs. 20,000 and his revenue Rs. 2,10,100.

[2] The poligar of Ramnad, usually called in those days the Greater Maravar. The poligar was Sella Têvar *alias* Vijaya Raghunâtha Sêtupati (1748—1760). Sewell, *Lists of Inscriptions*, p. 228 (ed. 1884).

[3] The poligar of Sivaganga, usually called the Lesser Maravar ; separated from Ramnad early in the 18th century (Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 210).

[4] See note 1 above.

[5] There is a zamindar of this name now owning Marungâpuri in the Kulittalai taluk, Trichinopoly district ; but whether this is the pâlaiyam referred to by Ranga Pillai does not appear.

[6] There is a zamindar of this name owning Kumaravadi in the same taluk.

[7] There is a zamindar of this name owning Valayapatti in the Dindigul taluk.

[8] There was a zamindar of Nattam, Mêlûr taluk, Madura district, bearing this name.

[9] There is a zamindar of Kadavûr, Madura taluk, bearing this name.

[10] There is a zamindar of Ayalûr Maniyagarampatti (Dindigul taluk) bearing this name. In the Mackenzie MSS. (*Local Records*, Vol. LIV, pp. 124—142) a poligar of Eriyôdu in the same taluk is mentioned.

[11] The name of the present zamindar of Râmagiri is Sâmi or Sâmiyappa Nâyakkan.

[12] The zamindar of Ammayanâyakkanûr (lying to the east of the Palni hills) bears this name.

kan,[1] Appaya Nâyakkan,[2] Sennava Nâyakkan of Palni,[3] Râmabhadra Nâyakkan of Virûpâkshi,[4] the nine Goundars and Poligars of Kângayam,[5] the seven hill poligars living west of Dindigul, east of Uttamapâlaiyam, at Kambam and Gûdalûr and north of the Nâgamalai range,[6] Nânjanâdu.[7] In all 34 Poligars.

The Poligars of the south.

Sinnananja Thêvan,[8] Sivagiri Vanniyan,[9] Irattaikkudai Vanniyan, Alagâpuri Vanniyan, Sêttûr Tiruvanâ Thêvan, Kollangondân Vânda

[1] Possibly represented by the late zamindars of either Nîlakkôttai or Sandaiyûr in the Madura district.

[2] Said to be represented by the zamindar of Kannivâdi, in the Madura district.

[3] A report on the Palnipâlaiyam dated 1795, occurs in the *District Records*, Vol. No. 1249; but little seems known of its earlier history.

[4] The pâlaiyam of Virûpâkshi south-east of Dindigul was resumed in 1802, on account of the turbulence of the poligar. A report of 1816 (*District Records*, Vol. 1258) gives a lengthy description of the pâlaiyam, but says nothing of its early history. The poligars are said to have come from Gooty (*Madura District Manual*, part iii, p. 99).

[5] Kângayam formerly gave its name to a taluk in the south-east of the Coimbatore district. Goundans are still said to reside there (*Coimbatore District Manual*, p. 57); but I can trace nothing more about them.

[6] The only poligars I find mentioned are those of Kambam and Gûdalûr. See *Madura District Manual*, part iii, p. 288.

[7] The Tamil speaking portion of South Travancore still bears this name. The origin of the pâlaiyam is related in the *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 260, etc.

[8] Probably zamindar of Chokkampatti, Tinnevelly district.

[9] Apparently the poligar mentioned by Orme, *History*, Vol. II. pp. 200 and 209.

Thêvan,[1] Ettappa Nâyakkan,[2] Annichi Nâyakkan,[3] Tumbinji Nâyakkan,[4] Kâma Nâyakkan,[5] Kalangâ Nâyakkan, Kandama Nâyakkan,[6] Elumadai Nâyakkan,[7] Chokkathalavan,[8] Tadiyathalavan, Kattappa Nâyakkan,[9] Marudappa Thêvan, Tâli Vêli,[10] Sûttala Thêvan,[11] Sâluva Thêvan, Seturâyan,[12] Nallakkutti,[13] Nambithalavan,[14] Ananjathalavan, Râmabhadra

[1] Probably to be identified as Vandâ Thêvan of Kollankondân mentioned in Light's report (*Military Consultations*, February 20, 1781, f. 562), 36 miles west of Palamcottah. See also Orme, *History*, Vol. II. p. 563.

[2] I suppose the poligar of Ettiyâpuram, in the Tinnevelly district. He gave hostages to Heron, of whom Orme has much to say. (*History*, Vol. I, pp. 420, etc., Vol. II, pp. 201 and 251).

[3] Probably the poligar of Kolattûr, 34 miles north of Palamcottah. mentioned in Light's report, *ut supra*.

[4] There is a zamindar, bearing the name of Tumbichi Nâyakkan of Pêraiyûr, in the Madura district. The poligar of this name in the 17th century is described as 'chief of all the Tottiyans' (*Madura District Manual*, part iii, p. 117).

[5] The zamindar of Sâptûr (Madura district) bears this name.

[6] Possibly the 'Colengado Cundannegee' of Kolarapettah, 45 miles north-west of Palamcottah (Light's Report, *ut supra*).

[7] Said to be zamindar of Elumalai in the Madura district.

[8] Poligar of Maniyachchi, 10 miles north-east of Palamcottah (Light's Report, *ut supra*).

[9] Possibly the 'Catobominaig' of Orme, poligar of Panchalamkurichi.

[10] In the Mackenzie MSS. (*Local Records*, Vol. LIV, ff. 417–433) is an undated statement explaining how the poligar Irattaikkudai Vanniyan acquired the title of Tâli Vêli. The two items may therefore relate to the same poligar. Light gives Irattaikkudai Vanniyan as poligar of Alagâpuri.

[11] Probably the poligar of 'Naliurchdy' mentioned by Light, 22 miles north-west of Palamcottah.

[12] This is the family name of the zamindar of Urkad.

[13] Possibly 'Nellacotta' poligar of Singampatti mentioned by Light.

[14] Described by Light as poligar of Tirukanangudi. 22 miles south of Palamcottah.

Reddi, Râmaswâmi Reddi, Kumâraswâmi Reddi, Venkatâchala Reddi, Sankaranârâyana Reddi,[1] Kêchalappa Nâyakkan,[2] Pethana Nâyakkan,[3] Kâdalakkudi Nâyakkan, Nâgalâpuram,[4] Sirumalai Nâyakkan of Mêlamândai,[5] Indrathalavan,[6] Kumârathalavan, Eravappa Nâyakkan—Southern Poligars, 38. In all, Poligars 72,[7]

The six divisions of the Kallars,[8]

Visinganâttu Kallar, Tondimanpirâthu Kallar, Pirâmalai Kallar, Tannarasunâttu Kallar, Alagarkôyil Kallar, Nâgamalai Range Kallar.

The Governor told me to write to these poligars as follows:—'You know that Muzaffar Jang entrusted to me all the country and pâlaiyams between the Kistna and Cape Comorin, and ordered all to obey me. You also know that Salabat Jang gave orders to

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[1] These are said to have come from Guntur and settled in the Tinnevelly district. They are called the Pannayars of Mulaikaraipatti a village in Nanguneri taluk.

[2] Zamindar of Gollaputty, in Sâttûr taluk.

[3] This is the family name of the Zamindar of Athankarai.

[4] A place name, not a personal name like the foregoing. In Light's time the poligar was Irayappa Nâyakkan. The pâlaiyam was 35 miles north-east of Palamcottah.

[5] Thirty-seven miles north-west of Palamcottah, according to Light

[6] Possibly poligar of Talavankôttai. Light gives both the poligar and the pâlaiyam as 'Indrathalavan.'

[7] In the 16th century. 72 poligars are said to have been dependent on the Nâyak of Madura. (*Madura District Manual*, part iii, p. 101.)

[8] The Kallars are subdivided into ten groups nowadays. But *cf.* Orme's remarks on the 'Colleries of Nattam' (Vol. II, p. 562).

the same effect. Muhammad 'Alî Khân has written to me five or six times that, if a cowle were obtained and sent to him, he would come and act as I ordered. I agreed and sent him a cowle from Muzaffar Jang. But instead of coming in as he had promised, he has been making frivolous excuses and taken shelter in the fort of Trichinopoly. Now as he has disobeyed the Pâdshâh, Salabat Jang and me, I have sent Chandâ Sâhib with my forces to capture the Fort of Trichinopoly and chastise Muhammad 'Alî Khân. If you help him, not only shall your country be taken from you but you also shall be seized. Beware, therefore, and do not help Muhammad 'Alî Khân, but give all assistance to Chandâ Sâhib whom I have sent ; then you shall live in peace.' Such letters are being written, and they will be despatched to-morrow.

JUNE 1751.

Monday, June 7.[1]—At eleven o'clock this morning a letter came from Chandâ Sâhib. It says:—'I have postponed my march to Trichinopoly as the English have removed the white flag at Vriddhachalam, and hoisted their own there.[2] Their time of misfortune is at hand. If I were now to march to Trichinopoly, they would be free to tie *tôranams* everywhere and cause great disturbances,[3] so I and M. d'Auteuil have postponed our march to Trichinopoly in order to defeat and drive them away so that they will not dare to show their heads in these parts. Then I will consider of other matters. But I will do as you desire.'

When I interpreted this letter, he told me to write an answer to Chandâ Sâhib, and asked if the English had really hoisted their flag at Vriddhachalam. I replied that I had heard that last Thursday, the English, who had encamped near Vriddhachalam, had fought, removed our flag and hoisted theirs. Thereupon he told me to write to Chandâ Sâhib as follows:—'Remain, as you propose and

[1] *28th Vaigâsi, Prajôtpatti.*

[2] Gingens took Vriddhachalam on May 23/June 3. It had been garrisoned for Chandâ Sâhib. Orme, *History*, Vol. I, p. 171, and Extraordinary Occurrences, May 27, 1751.

[3] *i.e.*, disturb the collection of the revenues.

punish the English suitably. Write to Hasan-ud-dîn Khân,[1] who has marched against the poligars, to come and help beat the English, taking all necessary measures to drive them out of these parts. I will write to M. d'Auteuil regarding other matters.' I wrote accordingly, and had the letter despatched.

At five o'clock this evening, Madame and Madame d'Auteuil, with their families, Madame Friell, and others,[2] came in from Mortândi Choultry.

Tuesday, June 8.[3]—Râyappa Râjâ's[4] letter to the Governor, received this morning, says:—'I have captured Bangarupâlaiyam,[5] one of the neighbouring pâlaiyams, but, as it was being plundered, they attacked me again, seized the hill, and fired upon me with their guns. One shot struck my standard-bearer. This is the news. I have no money for my expenses, so be pleased to send me some.' I read this letter to him. It also said that Gôvinda Râo[6] was playing tricks in order to secure the management of affairs.

[1] *i.e.*, Shaikh Hasan, who had been sent against Bommarâjapâlaiyam.

[2] Mesdames Dupleix and d'Auteuil were sisters; Madame Friell was Madame d'Auteuil's daughter by a former husband.

[3] *29th Vaigâsi, Prajôtpatti.*

[4] See Vol. VI, pp. 201, 252 and 283 *supra*.

[5] One of the Chittoor pâlaiyams. See the *North Arcot District Manual*, p. 75.

[6] Apparently a hanger-on of 'Abd-ul-rahmân, the protector of Râyappa Râjâ. See Vol. VI, p. 36 *supra*.

Friday, June 11.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, M. Delarche came and said that his man had written from Cuddalore that a Portuguese man-of-war[2] had reached the Fort St. David roads, with orders to obtain the delivery of Mylapore. The Governor told me at once to send for the Portuguese (I do not know his name) who is here. When he came, the Governor took him to the new *Gouvernement*, and they looked southwards with a telescope; but they came away, saying that the man-of-war could not be recognised as there were five or six ships there. The Governor informed me of this. There is nothing else important.

Saturday, June 12.[3]—At five o'clock this evening the *Rouillé*, which sailed from Europe last October, anchored in the roads and the *Duc de Parme*, which is still lying here, hauled down her *flamme-de-guerre*, and fired a salute according to custom, as the captain of the new ship is the senior. Afterwards the Fort was saluted. I hear that the ship has brought 106 chests of silver, gold to the value of 25,000 pagodas,[4] and 50 bales of broad-cloth. Her

[1] *1st Âni, Prajôtpatti.*

[2] I do not credit this. The only demands made seem to have come from the Portuguese at Pondichery. See p. 2 *supra*.

[3] *2nd Âni, Prajôtpatti.*

[4] 34,349 marcs of silver and 376 of gold. *Mémoire pour la Compagnie contre le sieur Dupleix, Pièces Justificatives*, p. 120.

captain is [ ]. He brought the despatches to the Governor at six o'clock and talked with him. As the *Duc de Parme* sailed ten days later, and arrived here on Wednesday, May 19, the present ship brought no fresh news.

Saturday, June 19.[1]—A letter (received to-day) addressed from Delhi to Miyân Sâhib of Perumukkal says as follows :—

'Mansûr 'Alî Khân, who four months ago had to retreat from before the fort of Lahore again collected troops and marched to fight, but was again defeated and fled to Delhi. The Pathans have plundered Gopâmau[2] and other places dependent on Delhi, carried off women, and plundered the whole country.'[3]

Sampâti Râo at Madras whose father, mother, younger brother and other relations live at Gopâmau, where his father was an accountant, is said to have heard that his father had perished and that the rest have been plundered of all their property by the Pathans.

Sunday, June 20.[4]—There is news to-day from Cuddalore that an English ship reached

[1] *9th Âni, Prajôtpatti.*
[2] In Oudh.
[3] This apparently refers to Ahmad Shâh Durânî's second invasion, which ended in the cession of the Punjab.
[4] *10th Âni, Prajôtpatti.*

Fort St. David yesterday with two Frenchmen on board. When I told the Governor, he said it was true and that he had been asked to send a boat, by which they would arrive to-morrow.

I hear that one of the Europeans who has come by the English ship is M. de La Selle,[1] the squint-eyed man, who went to Europe from here, and who has been appointed Councillor and that the other is M. Pichard, who also went home and who has been promoted captain.[2] They will arrive to-morrow. They are said to have come by an English ship because the *Philibert*, by which they sailed from France bound for Mascareigne and Pondichery, was caught in a storm, lost her masts and was driven to and fro. So she put into the *Cap de Bonne Espérance*[3] for repair; and they took their passage by an English ship lying there, bound for Bengal and touching at Fort St. David.

[1] Apparently the elder of the two brothers of this name in the French Company's service. Dupleix says of him, in his report of 1750 'Il est assez entendu pour les écritures des bureaux et surtout de la caisse . . . a été fort libertin, avoit fait un assez mauvais mariage, est actuellement veuf, du reste un assez mince sujet.'

[2] He came out as a civil servant in 1741 (Company to Pondichery, November 25, 1741. *P.R.* No. 6). He resigned in 1747 (Pondichery to the Company, January 31, 1747. *P.R.* No. 7), but distinguished himself in the siege of 1748, and now returned with a commission as lieutenant. (*P.R.* No. 28. f. 547.)

[3] So in the Tamil.

Monday, June 21.[1]—I went to the Fort, as the cloth of the old merchants was being examined; but the Governor's peon came for me. The Governor asked if the cloth had been sorted and packed. I replied that the Second had said that the Orkanti[2] and unbleached cloth would be sorted to-morrow.

The grandson of the Old Gingee Killedar visited first Madame and then the Governor.

Chandâ Sâhib and M. d'Auteuil's letters, received to-day, report that the horse-men are demanding their pay and giving trouble, and that difficulties will arise if they do this again when the enemy are near and ready to attack; they desired therefore that this matter should be looked to. The Governor sent for his writer and told him to send a lakh of rupees to Pâpayya Pillai.[3] I heard this evening that the Governor's writer, Muttayyan, had given the money to Pâpayya Pillai to be sent to Chandâ Sâhib. Some bullocks and coolies were collected to convey the silver, which will be despatched to-morrow. Up till now, the amount received by Pâpayya Pillai

[1] *11th Âni, Prajôtpatti.*

[2] A weaving district in the Northern Circars.

[3] This man was one of Madame Dupleix' agents, whom she got appointed Collector of the Carnatic revenues. In this capacity he seems to have misbehaved as badly as English agents were subsequently to do in Bengal. See the letter of Durocher de la Perinne, *ap.* Cultru, *Dupleix*, p. 322.

on Chandâ Sâhib's account, as reported to the Governor, is 2½ lakhs of rupees. The Râjâ of Tanjore has paid 3½ lakhs at Kârikâl—in all 6 lakhs of rupees. If the lakh of rupees given to-day is deducted, 5 lakhs of rupees remain to Chandâ Sâhib's credit, but we have yet to see what, if any, expenditure has to be met out of this. Moreover arrangements have been made for a bill of exchange, for 16½ lakhs of rupees, to be drawn on Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji, payable to the chief of the fort at Masulipatam on account of the present which Muzaffar Jang promised to make when he reached Golconda in connection with Chandâ Sâhib's affair, and which was confirmed by Salabat Jang. Besides this, a present of a lakh of rupees was promised to M. Delarche. When the Governor was at Mortândi Choultry, on May 30 and June 3, letters to this effect came from Salabat Jang and Râmadâs Pandit. The Governor replied that the 16½ lakhs should at once be paid into Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji's shop and a bill of exchange sent to Masulipatam, but that M. Delarche had done nothing to merit a lakh of rupees, so that it need not be given, with more to the same effect. Five or six letters of this kind were sent by way of Masulipatam and Cuddapah, and it was suggested in a separate letter to Râmadâs Pandit that he should propose to Salabat Jang to give the lakh of

rupees to Madame instead. It was Madanânda Pandit who informed me of this.[1] We shall see what happens. The Pandit also said that the Governor had ordered a lakh of rupees due from Mîr Asad[2] and 2 lakhs due from Murtazâ 'Alî Khân to be paid to Chandâ Sâhib for the charges of his troops, but all further sums to be received for himself.

I hear that MM. de La Selle and Pichard, who reached Fort St. David by an English ship, have arrived here.

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[1] I do not remember that the amount of Dupleix' present has been elsewhere specified; but Ranga Pillai's account is not improbable. Dupleix wrote to the Minister, June 10, 1751, 'Après cette séparation, l'armée de Salabatjingue s'est tenduë à Golconde, ou maître des trésors que cette place renferme, il a payé ses trouppes et fait de grandes largesses surtout à nos officiers et à nos trouppes.' (*Archives des Colonies*). It is most unlikely that Dupleix himself was not substantially remembered.

[2] Killedar of Chêtpattu. In the *Country Correspondence, 1754* (p. 80), he is stated to have been turned out by French treachery (probably for failure to pay the stipulated lakh) and imprisoned in Covelong till Clive took the place and released him. He had been dîwân to Safdar 'Alî Khân.

JULY 1751.

Tuesday, July 6.[1]—The Governor asked if I had learnt the exact English losses at the action of Vâlikondâpuram. I replied, 'According to the letter which Mu'tabar Khân [ ], he was vigilant and drove the English away, when they attacked the walls at night, with a loss of ninety Europeans killed, including two officers, besides the wounded.[2] Moreover since Mr. Cope went to Trichinopoly in January, 110 persons have either been killed in the fight at Madura or died of sickness, so that with these ninety that have just been killed, their total losses are 200.' After talking about other matters, I went to the nut-godown.

Wednesday, July 7.[3]—At seven o'clock this evening the Governor sent for me and gave me a declaration made at the Muttirai Choultry by three peons from the Vriddhachalam fort to be translated into French by M. Le Beaume ready for him to-morrow. I took it and went to the nut-godown.

About nine o'clock, Madanânda Pandit came and said that the Governor had kept Salabat

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[1] *26th Âni, Prajôtpatti.*

[2] The action at Vâlikondâpuram took place on June 19/30. See Orme, *History*, Vol. I, pp. 171, etc. An eye-witness on the English side writes, 'We lost an ensign and five or six men, in the action, and may say all our courage.' *Orme MSS., India*, V. f. 1062.

[3] *27th Âni, Prajôtpatti.*

Jang's and Râjâ Raghunâtha Dâs's[1] letters saying that they had sent a bill of exchange payable at Masulipatam for a lakh of rupees in favour of M. Delarche. The Governor ordered him not to tell any one of this, and in reply to the letters desired them to write to M. Delarche that their expenses were too great for them to send him the promised lakh, but that they would see about it later.[2]

Thursday, July 8.[3]—This morning [I went] to the Governor with the declaration made on the 4th by three of the peons from Vriddhachalam fort, translated by M. Le Beaume as follows:—When we were in the Vriddhachalam fort, the English army reached that place, and certain persons who entered the fort asked us who we were. We replied we belonged to the French and remained there to hoist the French flag. They said that they were on their way to Madura. But when Muhammad 'Alî Khân's horse and foot appeared two or three days later, we were told to haul down the flag, quit the fort, and depart. We replied we could not do so without the permission of the French. Thereupon they surrounded the fort, threw into it

[1] *i.e.*, Râmadâs Pandit, the dîwân whom the French had established with Salabat Jang.

[2] Curious, but characteristic conduct on the part of Dupleix.

[3] *28th Ani, Prajôtpatti.*

150 grenades and shells and attacked us with cannon and muskets. When we had fought for 36 hours and used up all the powder and shot we had, and moreover had nothing to eat, we asked for a cowle; but when in reliance on this, our Carnatic people marched out, the English plundered them of their arms. They then entered the fort, pulled down the white flag, and hoisted Muhammad 'Alî Khân's.[1] This took place thirty days ago. We have been here for the last fifteen days; but it did not occur to us to report this to any, not knowing to whom the report should be made, or how to approach the Governor. Therefore, not knowing the custom, we did nothing. On the fifteenth day we went to the Muttirai Choultry and related our story to Alagappa Mudali, Tiruchelvarâya Mudali and Chinnatambi, who ordered the country-writer to write it out for us to sign. We have signed it accordingly, as attested by the choultry accountant and written out by the country-writer.'

I gave M. Le Beaume's French translation to the Governor, and then took leave of him and came home, telling him that I would speak to the envoys from Mysore who are at

[1] Orme describes this as 'white skirted with green.' (*History*, Vol. I, p. 264.)

my choultry, and inspect the presents they had brought for him.

This afternoon I went to my *agrahâram* and visited Gôpâla Dâs and Narasinga Dâs (the latter a son of Bhavâni Dâs's elder brother) who have come as envoys from the Râjâ of Mysore. I inspected the jewels and cloths they had brought. I took the jewels and showed the diamond ring to the Governor this evening. The Governor was somewhat dissatisfied and said, 'It is only worth 400 or 500 pagodas; how can they say it is worth 3,000 or 3,500?' He desired me to speak about it and get the amount of the present in ready money.[1] I said I would do so and inform him the day after to-morrow. I came home at half-past nine.

Friday, July 9.[2]—When I was with the Governor this morning, Saiyid Shâh[3] came to pay his respects with a nazar of five gold mohurs. The Governor asked what that was for. He replied, 'When I and Pâpayya Pillai were presented with elephants, the animals still remained the Sarkar's property. Now seven elephants have arrived that were bought from the Porto Novo merchants through

[1] I presume that Muhammad 'Alî Khân made his unfortunate promise of Trichinopoly to Mysore, in order to frustrate this negotiation.

[2] *29th Âni, Prajôtpatti.*

[3] A man of this name has already been mentioned (Vol. IV, p. 189, *supra*) as newswriter to the Emperor in Nâsîr Jang's camp.

Nârâyana Sâstri. It had been written that I was to choose a large one. Yesterday therefore I chose one and sent it to my stables. Hence the present.'—'Very well,' the Governor said, and having given rose water and *pân supârî*, asked Pâpayya Pillai how he was. He replied that he was well. The Governor continued, 'You promised that, if you were sent into the pargannahs with twenty sepoys and thirty or forty peons with badges, you would settle the accounts and get in three lakhs of rupees in a month. Why now are you sitting at home pretending to be ill?' He replied that he would set out in two or three days. 'Very well,' he said and dismissed him. So he took leave and departed.

I hear that Shaikh Hasan who was to have seized and delivered Bommarâjapâlaiyam to Râyappa Râjâ on condition of receiving fifteen lakhs of rupees, has been hindered in this affair. He writes that as he was marching to join Chandâ Sâhib at Vâlikondâpuram, he reached Tiruvannâmalai and sent Râyappa Râjâ to be imprisoned in the fort at Gingee according to the Governor's orders, and is now moving to join Chandâ Sâhib's camp at Vâlikondâpuram.

Sunday, July 11.[1]—I visited the Governor at eight o'clock this morning after his return

[1] *31st Âni, Prajôtpatti.*

from mass. He asked why no Europe ships had yet reached Fort St. David. I replied, 'The China and Bengal ships have arrived, but none of the Fort St. David ships.[1] Hitherto it has been usual to address the Company's letters to the Governor and Councillors, but now the letters are addressed to the Council only.[2] So it seems that Mr. Saunders has not been appointed Governor of Fort St. David. I hear that Europeans' dubâshes at Fort St. David and others who go to and fro say that some one else will be sent as Governor.' I added that I had heard that fifty or sixty sepoys and Europeans had marched for Ûtatûr with a few guns, powder and shot.

Afterwards M. Labat,[3] supercargo of the Manilla ship, M. Barthélemy and others came to see the Governor, so I went to the nut-godown.

Monday, July 12.[4]—M. Law and two other officers, fifty or sixty Europeans and an equal

[1] Ranga Pillai is mistaken. The Company's ships that touched on the Coromandel Coast were consigned either to the Coast and China, or to the Coast and Bengal. Ships were very seldom consigned to the Coromandel Coast only.

[2] Another mistake of the diarist's.

[3] Several persons of this name are mentioned in connection with Pondichery from 1701 onwards. I suppose this to be a son of the original settler.

[4] *32nd Âni, Prajôtpatti.*

number of Topasses and sepoys were despatched to camp to-day to escort seventy or eighty bullocks loaded with powder and shot.

A Brâhman formerly came here who said that he had come from Muhammad 'Alî Khân to desire the Governor to send some one to hoist the white flag at Trichinopoly. The Governor believing him sent with him a beggarly Brâhman named Ranga Âchâriyâr. The Trichinopoly Brâhman said that as he had been sent without the English knowing, he had had to come without even a gown. He was given 100 or 150 [. . .] and set out with Ranga Âchâriyâr for Trichinopoly, but on their arrival there, he disappeared. Ranga Âchâriyâr only escaped with his life by a miracle. He has told Madame that the Brâhman is a liar; for the place is full of the English, and Muhammad 'Alî Khân is only the nominal ruler.[1]

[1] This was a continuation of the intrigue which had been initiated by Sânôji Nimbâlakar after Nâsîr Jang's death. In the previous month Muhammad 'Alî had informed Saunders that Dupleix was supporting Bâlâji Râo's demand for 40,000 rupees as chauth due in his father's time (*Country Correspondence, 1751*, pp. 38. etc.). It was probably at the same time that Dupleix sent a cowle granting remission of the arrears due to the Subahdar of the Deccan, and which was received by Muhammad 'Alî on May 27. I conjecture that Law was being employed in this intrigue, for he is mentioned among others in the Carnatic Records, abstracts of which are printed in the Appendix to this volume. These should be compared with the letters cited above in the *Country Correspondence* of 1751, and with the long letter of Dupleix, dated February 18, 1752, printed in the *French Correspondence* of that year.

When I went to the Governor this morning, Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji's gumastah brought three letters, one from M. Bussy, another from Saiyid Sharîf Khân and the third from 'Abd-ul-hâji the Turk who knows twelve languages, dated at Nirmal, a fortified town situated this side of Aurangabad and beyond the Godavari. These letters came by way of Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji's house at Arcot. The Governor rea . them and said, 'Our people have crossed the Godavari with Salabat Jang's army and arrived near Aurangabad. Salabat Jang and Râmadâs Pandit have given 'Abd-ul-mansûr 'Alî Khân, the vizier, suitable presents to obtain a parwâna for the Deccan subahs. Mansûr 'Alî Khân has therefore informed the Pâdshâh and has caused the parwâna to be written.[1] It will be received shortly. That is what M. Bussy and others tell me. Moreover there is a Hindustani killedar at Nirmal who fears the French army, though he never feared Nâsîr Jang, the Nizâm, Bhâji Râo or any one else. So when Salabat Jang sent 'Abd-ul-hâji, the interpreter, to him to tell him that unless he paid the arrears of tribute, the fort would be captured, he was so alarmed that he

[1] If Mansûr 'Alî Khân is to be identified with the vizier Safdar Jang, this seems most improbable, for he was a friend of Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân, the Nizâm's eldest son.

appeared before him with folded arms and made obeissance. Thereupon he was allowed to remain as killedar on condition of paying his tribute.[1] The heavy rains and mud make it difficult to pass the rivers. On reaching Aurangabad, they will encamp there.'

He then told me to warn both the old and [the new] merchants to get in cloth quickly. I said I would do so.

At noon, M. Solminiac, the captain, and M. Labat and M. Barthélemy,[2] the supercargos, sailed aboard the ship bound for Manilla. She will stay at Covelong four or five days, take on board the goods belonging to M. Labat and M. Barthélemy, and then sail for Manilla.

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[1] His submission was brief, for he seems to have rebelled in the next year and been killed. *Orme MSS., Various*, 55, f. 13.

[2] As the Company's servant of this name had entered the service in 1728, it seems likely that the supercargo was his son.

AUGUST 1751.

Thursday, August 5.[1]—The rain which set in last night continued till this evening; so the Governor slept till ten o'clock. As the rain then ceased for a while, I went to him. There I heard that two messengers had brought a letter from Chandâ Sâhib at ten o'clock last night, on which the Governor had at once sent for Madanânda Pandit to interpret it. The latter said that M. d'Auteuil, M. Brenier and M. Dancy and other Europeans stubbornly refused to cross the Coleroon and wished to return to Pondichery with their soldiers, and that all his efforts to dissuade them had been useless.[2] I hear that the Governor wrote in answer that he would give strict orders to M. d'Auteuil not to think of returning to Pondichery, and that Chandâ Sâhib need not trouble himself about M. d'Auteuil and the

[1] *24th Âdi, Prajôtpatti.*

[2] After the action at Vâlikondâpuram, Gingens had retired to Ûtatûr, and thence, after a skirmish, to the north bank of the Coleroon opposite Trichinopoly. Accounts differ as to the dates on which he crossed onto the island of Srîrangam. A writer in the *Orme MSS., India*, V, ff. 1063–1064, says it took three days—July 13–15/24–26. He crossed the Cauvery two days later and camped under the walls of Trichinopoly. The passage in the text corroborates an extract alleged to be taken from a letter of Dupleix, dated in October 1751 (*Planite du Chevalier Law*, p. 20)—'La mauvaise volonté de l'armée du Sud a cessé depuis que j'ai rappelé M. d'Auteuil.'

others, but give his whole mind to capturing the fort of Trichinopoly. Orders have been sent to M. d'Auteuil and other officers, directing them not to move this way but to advance with Chandâ Sâhib's troops and take Trichinopoly.

Chandâ Sâhib is said to have written that till now Shaikh Hasan and his sepoys have done all the fighting, both at Vâlikondâpuram, in taking Srîrangam[1] and Tiruvânaikkôyil, four or five battles, while M. d'Auteuil and the other European officers with their troops have done nothing. Instead of marching in advance as usual, they lag sometimes even six miles behind the rest of the army, and are always declaring that they will abandon him. His whole time is spent in persuading them to remain with him.

I also hear that a fortnight or three weeks ago, in reply to Chandâ Sâhib's complaints, the Governor promised that, if he would send a bill of exchange for two lakhs of rupees, the money should be provided and given to the Europeans for their encouragement. But even

[1] Either the Coleroon is miswritten above for the Cauvery, or else the French refused to advance and allowed Chandâ Sâhib to cross the Coleroon alone. The latter is more likely and would best reconcile the various authorities. Orme says Chandâ Sâhib occupied Srîrangam as soon as the English quitted it; Law says the French did not cross the Coleroon until September. On p. 57 *infra*, Chandâ Sâhib is said to be about to cross the Coleroon. I conjecture he withdrew when the French refused to follow him.

after receiving this, they are still behaving as before.[1]

Chandâ Sâhib is said to be telling every one in the camp that this time the Europeans have done nothing but talk big, though each officer is receiving 300 or 400 rupees a month, and M. d'Auteuil 1,000 rupees, besides their present of two lakhs of rupees ; that, in spite of this, they write daily letters to the Governor full of false complaints ; and that this time Shaikh Hasan has done all the fighting. Moreover I myself know that the Governor sent 24,000 Tanjore chakrams received from Kârikâl, and 10,000 rupees, to Shaikh Hasan for the pay and expenses of his troops. I write what I have seen and heard.

Saturday, August 7.[2]—This evening I heard that letters from Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and his mother at Adoni[3] and from Muzaffar Khân's[4] people at the fort of Kandanûr had been received. I write below their principal contents.

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[1] Apparently a repetition of their conduct before Tanjore in the previous year.

[2] *26th Âdi, Prajôtpatti.*

[3] Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn must be the son of the Nawâb commonly called Muzaffar Jang. He was given Adoni when Salabat Jang was made Nizâm on the death of Muzaffar Jang, and died in April, 1753. (*Country Correspondence, 1753*, p. 56.)

[4] *i.e.*, Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân, who had been named killedar of Kurnool. The man he left in charge was Saiyid Muhammad 'Alam.

Munawar Khân formerly jaghirdar of Musaravâkkam, and younger brother of Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân, killedar of Kandanûr (who was killed in battle by Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân) is marching with troops to attack the fort of Kandanûr.[1] Nothing can be done unless troops are sent from Pondichery and he will take not only Kandanûr but also Adoni and other places. To prevent this, his children and others now living at Musaravâkkam near Conjeeveram should be seized and imprisoned and troops sent.

Now Saiyid Muhammad, amaldâr of Tadpatri, has been complaining to the Governor that Chandâ Sâhib will not let him enjoy the jaghir assigned him by Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and Salabat Jang. He has been waiting for an answer for the last three months, but, about half-past eight to-night, the Governor sent for him and told him that his business should be finished if he would go to Musaravâkkam, with the sepoys that would be placed under him, and seize Munawar Khân's children. He agreed to go to-morrow; and was going home, when Madanânda Pandit seized the opportunity to tell him how hard he had worked with the Governor in his affair

[1] He was finally appointed Nawâb of Kurnool by Salabat Jang. *Kurnool District Manual*, p. 34.

and to secure the promise of a bribe. He further asked for a present of a sword. Saiyid Muhammad Khân replied that he had five or six swords and would give him to-morrow whichever he chose.

Two Europeans' letters with a cadjan letter in Telugu also arrived from Kârikâl. The Telugu letter was written by some one with Mr. Cope to his gumastah at Fort St. David, mainly about domestic matters, but saying that Mr. Cope and his men got on so badly with Muhammad 'Alî Khân that they had resolved to depart. The Europeans' letters said that M. d'Auteuil alone had resolved to leave Chandâ Sâhib's camp. The Governor sent for Madame d'Auteuil and told her angrily that he would never speak to her husband if he returned in defiance of the repeated orders that had been sent him.

Sunday, August 8.[1]—This morning Tarwâdi brought and gave to Âchâram Tarwâdi, for delivery to the Governor, letters written from the camp at Aurangabad by M. Bussy and other Europeans, Salabat Jang and Râmadâs Pandit, and sent by way of Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji's shop at Arcot. He said that he would come back to-morrow to speak about the bill of

[1] *27th Âdi, Prajôtpatti.*

exchange.[1] I have not yet learnt the contents of the letters.

This morning a letter came from Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Trichinopoly. It is said to have been brought by a Brâhman who at once departed secretly to Vâsudêva Pandit's Choultry. The letter says he is ready with the Governor's permission to leave Trichinopoly according to the terms of Salabat Jang's former cowle; he offers certain sums for Trichinopoly or for Trichinopoly and Arcot, and desires a safe conduct, confirmed by an oath, to visit Pondichery and discuss the affair. I also hear that Muhammad 'Alî Khân has sent people to 'Alam Khân who has conquered Madura and those parts offering him such and such for his assistance.[2] It is reported that the English have abandoned him and are encamped near Bangârutippai.

I hear that a letter came from Chandâ Sâhib this evening, saying that M. d'Auteuil, who had left the camp in anger, must have arrived and reported the state of affairs and proposing that M. Law should be made commander of the European troops and that

[1] Probably Dupleix' present of 16½ lakhs mentioned above, p. 17.

[2] The English wrote to 'Alam Khân offering him a Government under Muhammad 'Alî for his assistance. (*Country Correspondence, 1751*, p. 46.) The appeal was however unsuccessful. 'Alam Khân joined Chandâ Sâhib later in the year.

orders should be sent to the several officers, soldiers, sepoys, etc., to obey him. On reading this, the Governor is said to have been exceedingly angry at M. d'Auteuil's departure, and to be unwilling to appoint M. Law commander.[1]

Friday, August 13.[2]—It was resolved at the council held this morning after mass that two English soldiers, who escaped but have been recaptured, should be hanged this evening.

Wednesday, August 18.[3]—I heard this morning that an English force had attacked Rangô Pandit, Madame Dupleix' amaldâr, who was fortifying himself near Vriddhachalam; Rangô Pandit himself has fled to Nayinârkuppam, and his peons, sepoys and 40 Topasses to Tiruviti with some guns. The English who were in the fort, sallied out, beat them, levelled their fortifications with the ground and set fire to the huts built by Rangô Pandit's peons and afterwards returned to the fort; the 200 men who marched from Cuddalore are encamped outside, but Rangô Pandit's people have seized an empty palankin and the provisions which were sent for their use but were left behind with a few guards. Rangô Pandit has collected the amounts due from

[1] Law did not actually take command until September 7/18.

[2] *32nd Âdi, Prajôtpatti.*

[3] *5th Âvani, Prajôtpatti.*

Sivapattanam, Venkatâmpôttai, etc., places, forming the Panchmahals, and also from Kalkurichi, but has neither paid the establishment nor sent the money in here. There is no one to report this to the Governor; and even if there were, the Governor might not listen to him. He will only listen when the money has been lost.

Tuesday, August 24.[1]—This evening a letter came from Chandâ Sâhib with one addressed to him by Mr. Saunders, the Governor of Fort St. David; and at ten the Governor sent for Razâ Sâhib about the answers that are to be sent. Chandâ Sâhib's son, Qutb-ud-dîn Khân and 'Alî Sâhib Salâh went therefore to the Governor's where they met Madame and Madanânda Pandit. I write below the conversation which, I hear, took place among these six persons.

Mr. Saunders wrote to Chandâ Sâhib, 'You know that Muhammad 'Alî Khân mortgaged to us the Trichinopoly fort and country in return for a loan. But I am surprised to learn that though you know the country to have been mortgaged, you have seized it. This unjust conduct can only break our friendship. Cease therefore to behave thus and order your people to leave the country.'

[1] *11th Âvani, Prajôtpatti.*

When we had read this, the Governor had a reply immediately written by Razâ Sâhib, which ran as follows:—'I have read your letter with surprise. How can Muhammad 'Alî Khân mortgage the Pâdshâh's country? and by what right can you possess it? The Pâdshâh gives power to manage countries but not to sell them. Moreover Salabat Jang, the Subahdar of the Deccan, has sent me a parwâna conferring on me that country. I therefore am its master. How great then is my astonishment to learn that you have a mortgage of it from Muhammad 'Alî Khân? You have already unjustly seized Poonamallee, Mylapore, Devanâmpattanam, etc., countries, and, although I have written to you five or six times to give them up, you have not done so. It is not proper for you to send troops to Trichinopoly fort and other places and help the enemy. I thought that you would regard our friendship, discontinue such conduct, and give up what you had seized, without compulsion, therefore I did nothing. But as you have not done so, I now write to you that you should order your men to return, for great people should not create troubles in the Pâdshâh's country.'[1] This letter was sent to

[1] Saunders' letter to Chandâ Sâhib dated August 3/14, and Chandâ Sâhib's answer received August 20/31 occur in the *Country Correspondence, 1751*, pp. 51 and 52. They substantially agree with the version in the text.

Chandâ Sâhib to be written out fair and sent to Mr. Saunders.

Moreover I understand that advantage was taken of Mr. Saunders' sealed letter, to prepare an inner slip as though addressed by Mr. Saunders to Chandâ Sâhib, offering to deliver up the fort of Trichinopoly and the person of Muhammad 'Alî provided such and such was done. This was to be folded up in the cover and given to the confidential people whom Muhammad 'Alî sends to M. d'Auteuil and Shaikh Hasan, to be carried to their master. As Muhammad 'Alî is already suspicious of the English and is secretly sending people to us for terms, it is hoped that this letter will cause quarrels between him and them and increase their ill-feeling. I hear that special letters to Chandâ Sâhib and M. d'Auteuil were also written about this.[1] Razâ Sâhib went home at mid-night after the letters had been written.

Friday, August 27.[2]—I heard the following news to-day:—The Governor wanted Madame to have the credit of taking the fort of Vriddhachalam, so she made great efforts and spent about 10,000 rupees in entertaining and

[1] A device characteristic of Dupleix, no matter whether proposed by him or not.

[2] *14th Âvani, Prajôtpatti.*

paying Europeans, Topasses, sepoys, Carnatic peons, etc.,—1,500 in all—with Portuguese artillery-men, and supplying them with two guns and other weapons and much powder and shot. Moreover she sent the poligars of the surrounding villages, Ûttangâl Kangaya Nayinâr and Pilaiporuttâ Pillai, with a few military, 4,000 men in all, along with that impotent rascally Brâhman, Rangô Pandit. When he attempted to capture the fort, the enemy sallied out and attacked him. Rangô Pandit, their leader, has already run away twice; and now he has done the same again, though he had 50 Europeans and three guns. Nails were driven into the ears of the guns,[1] and his people fled in all directions. We shall see what story she invents for the Governor.

The Governor sent for me this evening and said, 'The Tanjore people are betraying us. In spite of our efforts to help them, they pray for our defeat, and the prosperity of Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English; when they heard of Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân's letter, they not only said that Chandâ Sâhib would come to grief, but even distributed sugar and celebrated the day as a festival. I will not rest until I have captured Tanjore.' When he spoke

[1] *i.e.*, they were spiked.

thus angrily, I replied, 'When Salabat Jang reaches Aurangabad and has possession of the Deccan subahs, all the zamindars, poligars, mansabdars, killedars, etc., who refused to bow before his father will bow themselves before him, for he has the strong support of the French. Moreover the Pâdshâh's parwâna has been received; Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân has been recalled to Delhi, and is writing friendly letters to Salabat Jang. How then could Ghâzi-ud-dîn have written as he is said to have done? Even if he had, would the Tanjore people have announced it when matters stand as they do now? They must have some motive, or the story cannot be true. Besides as they have suffered much of late, they would never act hastily.' The Governor replied that they must have believed the stories spread by the English. He then went into his room and I went to my office.

There I heard that Sâmbasiva Râo had been sent for and ordered to write a severe letter to the Tanjore people.

Saturday, August 28.[1]—The Governor sent for me this evening, and told me to make ready the four yards of scarlet broadcloth received this afternoon, *pân supârî* and rose water. Then when Razâ Sâhib, Mîr A'azam and 'Alî

[1] *15th Âvani, Prajôtpatti.*

Sâhib Salâh had arrived, Gôpâla Râo, Morâri Râo's vakîl, was summoned and desired to sit; and I was directed to give him the following answer:—'According to Morâri Râo's proposals, we agree to give all he wishes, provided you will declare that you will act as we desire and will keep your promises.' He replied, 'Rest assured that we will do so.'

After this, the Governor gave him *pân supârî*, rose water and the four yards of broadcloth, together with a letter to Morâri Râo. Having received these, he rose, salaamed, and departed.

The terms of the agreement are as follows:—Chandâ Sâhib shall pay each trooper that Morâri Râo sends 20 rupees every month, and shall give Morâri Râo 7 *per cent.*[1] when matters are settled. When Morâri Râo comes here, he shall be welcomed with music and dancing and be given an elephant, a horse and a dress of honour. Moreover should his younger brothers come, they shall also be given dresses of honour and horses. If Bhâji Râo, Raghôji Bhônsla, Fatteh Singh and the Maratha armies move hither, he is to take Chandâ Sâhib's part, either by openly attacking the enemy, or by joining them and secretly working against them. Such terms were

[1] Apparently the 7 *per cent.* was to be paid on the amount Chandâ Sâhib should have paid Morâri Râo's troopers.

demanded by the Governor and Razâ Sâhib and accepted by vakîl Gôpâla Râo, who has therefore been asked to obtain a letter of consent from Morâri Râo, and is going to get it.[1] I also hear that as Gôpâla Râo has managed this matter, he has asked for a suitable present, which has been promised him. This is the news I have heard; I have written accordingly.

The Governor called me in again and, in the presence of Razâ Sâhib, Mír A'azam and 'Alî Sâhib Salâh said :—'When Salabat Jang reached Aurangabad, he was conducted to the Nizâm's old palace and seated on the [masnad]. Saiyid Lashkar Khân and other nobles, killedars, mansabdars, etc., visited him with presents. M. Bussy and others have been assigned lodgings in the great house belonging to Haibat Khân, the Nizâm's uncle.[2] Salabat Jang, Râmadâs Pandit and Saiyid Lashkar Khân each has a guard of Europeans, for they trust the French alone, in spite of the large number of their own people. The poligars, killedars, jemadars, mansabdars, and others, even the Marathas themselves, tremble at the mere mention of our army; and those who

[1] As Morâri Râo joined Muhammad 'Alî, we may conclude he offered better terms.

[2] When Gentil was at Aurangabad, the French officers were accommodated in a house which was separated from the Nawâb's palace only by gardens, Gentil, *Mémoires sur l'Indoustan*, p. 63.

would not obey the Nizâm, have now made terms and become obedient. There are no disturbances in the country, and all are so alarmed that they will be content if left to enjoy their old possessions.'

Razâ Sâhib observed, 'This is due only to their fear of you. Does not Râmadâs Pandit enjoy by your favour such undisputed authority that even Salabat Jang stands before him with folded hands? Saiyid Lashkar Khân was terribly afraid, and only recovered courage on being assured of M. Bussy's favour. On the march to Aurangabad the killedar of Nirmal and other jemadars were forced by M. Bussy to make their submission and visit him. Before they reached Hyderabad, Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân, 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân and other Pathans were proud and fought; but the French saved the Nizâm and his family from destruction. Again, but for the French, the Marathas who attacked the country would have conquered the Muhammadans and seized their country.'

After this Razâ Sâhib went to Madame's room to talk to her. The Governor turned to Mîr A'azam and said, 'Mîr Ghulâm Husain's nephews, Mîr 'Alî Akbar, etc., have delayed executing the deposition about the lakh of rupees lent to the Company.[1] As you are here,

[1] See Vol. VII, pp. 425, etc., *supra*.

if you kindly speak to them, they will settle the matter.' He stammered out, 'I will do so. Am I not your man?' The Governor then asked Mîr A'azam to bring the deposition, saying that he would repay 26,000 rupees out of the 30,000 rupees which Mîr Ghulâm Husain had got from the Company.[1] Mîr A'azam said he would bring the declaration to-morrow and went into Madame's room wherein Razâ Sâhib was. The Governor went to his room and I went to my office.

Sunday, August 29.[2]—When the Governor had returned from hearing mass this morning, M. [Picard], Captain of the *Dauphin* which arrived last night, came ashore with the Europe letters to visit the Governor. The Governor was busy reading them and writing to Masulipatam and Bengal, as the ship will sail thither shortly. Her Captain told me that his ship, as well as the *Compagnie des Indes* which came in on Tuesday, had left L'Orient on February 3. I hear that M. de La Bourdonnais has been released and is visiting the ministers.

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[1] So the Tamil text runs; but I suspect it is corrupt. Mîr Ghulâm Husain had lent money to the Company, not borrowed any. The 30,000 rupees mentioned is probably the balance still due to Mîr Ghulâm Husain when he had transferred 64,000 rupees to Dupleix as a gift; and I think the clause should read, 'which the Company still owed to Mîr Ghulâm Husain.' For previous references, see Vol. VI, pp. 397 and 415.

[2] *16th Âvani, Prajôtpatti.*

Monday, August 30.[1]—At six o'clock this evening, when Razâ Sâhib was with him, the Governor sent for me, and I interpreted their conversation, which was about various matters.

The Governor's peon came for me when I was at the Fort this morning about sorting the washed cloth. When I went, he asked me to interpret a cadjan letter from the Râjâ of Kôlattanâd in Malabar.[2] Though the letter was in the Malayalam language, the handwriting was part Tamil and part Malayalam; so I sent for Perumâl Ayyan and another Vaishnava Brâhman who go to and from Malabar, and read it to them so that they might interpret it. When I had learnt the substance, I reported it to the Governor as follows:—'We are now at war with our enemies. The English who were our friends have forsaken us and are helping the enemy. We cannot write the indignities we have suffered from them. We have fought as long as we could, but now need your protection. The greatness of the French Company is famous throughout the country, we therefore seek shelter under it. We have asked the Governor of Mahé to supply us with weapons of war, shot and powder, and he will explain

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[1] 17th Âvani, Prajôtpatti.

[2] In the northern part of the present Malabar district.

all things in detail. Dated the month of Âshâda, 996 of the Quilon era."[1]

When I reported this, the Governor ordered me to get the letter translated by M. Le Beaume. I went to him accordingly and brought back to the Governor his translation along with the cadjan letter in Malayalam. He gave the cadjan letter to me, but took the translation into his room. I took the cadjan letter to my office, folded it up in paper, endorsed it in Telugu with the date of receipt and the name of the writer, and put it in the western drawer of my table. At noon I then came home.

Tuesday, August 31.[2]—This afternoon the Governor visited the Bishop of Cochin-China at the Church opposite my house.[3] I went to the office.

This evening the Governor is said to have received news that Mr. Saunders had despatched to Trichinopoly from Devikôttai a few soldiers with provisions, shot, powder and other munitions of war; some of Chandâ Sâhib's troopers and the Tanjore army attempted to attack them when they got near

[1] Logan's *Malabar Manual*, p. 389, relates the incident to which I suppose this letter refers. The Malabar date is incorrect, probably by a copyist's error. The year mentioned is equivalent to A.D. 1821. The month of Âshâda, 926, began, on June 24, 1751.

[2] *18th Âvani, Prajôtpatti.*

[3] *i.e.*, the church of the *Mission étrangère.*

Trichinopoly, but they broke through and reached the fort. As the Tanjore army neglected to carry off their provisions, munitions of war, etc., the Governor sent for Sâmbasiva Râo, the Tanjore vakîl, and spoke angrily to him ; but the latter replied that the Tanjore army would not have neglected to seize the convoy. A letter was therefore written to the Râjâ of Tanjore.

I hear to-night that it has been resolved to despatch the 200 soldiers and officers, who have lately arrived, to Trichinopoly at sunrise to-morrow with supplies of powder, shot, etc. Razâ Sâhib was asked to accompany them ; he agreed to do so, and, when taking leave, asked for two lakhs of rupees for the charges of the sepoys and horsemen ; the Governor offered first 50,000 rupees and then a lakh ; Razâ Sâhib declared that 5 or 6 lakhs were needed to satisfy the sepoys ; but the Governor said that he could not give so much ; the other then begged for two lakhs at least, asking what would be the use of one.

SEPTEMBER 1751.

Wednesday, September 1.[1]—Between half-past five and six this morning, the 200 or 250 soldiers and officers, who arrived by the *Achille* after touching at Mascareigne, Mauritius, etc., and who had been detained at the Fort till yesterday, set out for Chandâ Sâhib's camp.

At half-past three this afternoon, Chandâ Sâhib's son, Razâ Sâhib, took leave of the Governor before proceeding to camp, and moved as far as Olukarai. He was somewhat dejected because the Governor had refused to give more than 50,000 rupees, instead of the two to five lakhs which he had demanded for his expenses, and because certain other of his demands had been refused. But though the Governor had said that he would only give 50,000 rupees, yet he had already told me to get a lakh from Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji's gumastah, so I suppose he will give Mîr A'azam this lakh of rupees to-morrow.

The Sâhib Zâda's coming and Madame Dupleix' management of affairs have enabled Madanânda Pandit to gather in money with both hands, until his joy and pride are indescribable. But though his prosperity may continue for some months, it cannot go on for

[1] *19th Âvani, Prajôtpatti.* The Madras transcript gives the European date as the 5th.

ever. As his mother is old, he has taken a wife ; otherwise he would not have done so. The intelligent will perceive his sin against God.

Wednesday, September 8.[1]—This morning, Tirumalai Râo and his younger brother, Râmachandra Râo, Bangâru Yâchama Nâyakkan's vakîls, were summoned to attend Madame Dupleix. Madanânda Pandit told them that she had sent for them as soon as she heard of their arrival. Thereupon Tirumalai Râo, Râmachandra Râo and Ariyappa Ayyan visited the Governor with a nazar of 5 rupees, but he told Madanânda Pandit to take them to Madame. When therefore they had been taken to her and had presented their nazar of 5 rupees, Madame asked where their master was. They replied, at Venkatagiri. She asked the distance from Arcot to Venkatagiri. They said, 15 leagues. She was surprised at its being so far, and said, 'I hear that the English are sending a small army to seize Arcot.[2] We can hardly recall Chandâ Sâhib's and our own troops from before Trichinopoly, but we will send troops from here to help Pôlûr Muhammad 'Alî Khân[3] at Arcot. You should write to your master, asking him to

[1] *26th Âvani, Prajôtpatti.*

[2] Clive marched from Madras against Arcot, August 26/September 6.

[3] Brother of Chandâ Sâhib.

march to Arcot and help Muhammad 'Alî Khân. I will also send letters from myself and the Governor.' So saying, she made them write on the spot, and told Madanânda Pandit to write a letter for her. She ordered these letters to be sealed and despatched immediately by peons, along with the vakîl's letters. The latter took them, came to me to relate what had taken place, and departed saying that they would despatch peons.

Tirumalai Râo and Râmachandra Râo also told me that letters had been written to Mêka-râjâ and other poligars desiring them to march to Arcot with their troops and help Pôlûr Muhammad 'Alî Khân.

Moreover Muhammad 'Alî Khân has written twice from Arcot saying that English troops are marching thither and begging for troops to be sent immediately to his assistance, as he has not even fifty or a hundred horse. I hear that he has been given assurances of help.

This evening the Governor sent for Zuhûr Khân's[1] son and said, 'I hear that the English are venturing to send some troops against Arcot and intend seizing the posts both on the coast and inland. But they can do nothing where our flag is flying; so I will send two

[1] Apparently killedar of Âlambarai.

Europeans with twenty Topasses and twenty sepoys to remain in the fort. With their help the white flag can be hoisted. Tell them what is to be done and make them write to me, and manage the whole business.' He replied that the fort must be restored as soon as the troubles were over. The Governor vowed to do so, laying his hand on the other's head and sent him away with the Europeans and twenty sepoys to hoist the white flag in the Âlambarai fort. He took his leave and set out this very night.

Madame Dupleix sent for Kêsava Râo, asked him to write a list and gave him 1,000 rupees with which to enlist men to help Pôlûr Muhammad 'Alî Khân against the English, who intend advancing upon Arcot from Madras. Kêsava Râo is said to have enlisted about 100 useless fellows, and is to send them with 100 muskets and cartridges to Arcot to-morrow.

I also hear that letters have been written to Yâchama Nâyakkan and the mansabdars, Mêkarâjâ and other poligars, asking them to march to Arcot to help Pôlûr Muhammad 'Alî Khân.

Thursday, September 9.[1]—I hear that a letter has been written to Chandâ Sâhib, asking him

[1] *27th Âvani, Prajôtpatti.*

to send as quickly as possible to Arcot 2,000 horsemen to help Pôlûr Muhammad 'Alî Khân, the naib subahdar.

Twenty days ago, Saiyid Muhammad of Tadpatri was ordered to go to Musaravâkkam killa with 200 match-lock men and seize the wife and children of Munawar Khân, younger brother of Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân. But as these had fled, Saiyid Muhammad of Tadpatri remained there with his 200 men. He has now been ordered to proceed to Arcot with his 200 match-lock people for Muhammad 'Alî Khân's assistance, leaving a few peons in charge of Musaravâkkam.

The Governor sent for me this evening and said, 'I will write to the Râjâ of Mysore asking him to lease the Salem mint to Guntûr Bâli Chetti. Tell his vakîl who is here to write about it also.' I replied I would do so. He then went to his room and I went to my office.

A letter received to-night from Arcot says that the sowcars are removing their goods, as they have news from Madras that the English are marching to take possession of Arcot.[1]

Friday, September 10.[2]—Manian, the peon whom Madame Dupleix sent to Madras, has

[1] Some at least carried their goods into the fort, for Clive found 5 lakhs' worth there.

[2] *28th Âvani, Prajôtpatti.*—The Madras transcript has 'Thursday.'

returned and reported to her that 1,500 Europeans, Topasses, sepoys, Carnatic peons, etc.,[1] and 1,000 bullock-people, coolies, etc., have marched from Madras with seven or eight guns to capture Arcot, and have reached Perumbûdûr or Manimangalam, and that two of the Madras Councillors have accompanied them.[2] When this was reported to the Governor, he sent for Mîr A'azam and promising a lakh of rupees for his camp expenses, desired him to send 2,000 horse immediately to Arcot, and to write to the killedars to send troops thither. I hear also that he has ordered Madanânda Pandit to write letters in his name.

The Governor then told Coja Qalandar Khân that, in consideration of his services, he had written to Salabat Jang and Râmadâs Pandit and that, by God's grace, his affair would prosper. He replied, 'When I have your entire favour and friendship, my affairs cannot but prosper. Be pleased to permit me to enter your darbâr from time to time.' The Governor replied, 'My house is yours; you may come whenever you desire.' So saying, he invited him to visit the *Gouvernement* in the

[1] The number of fighting men that accompanied Clive was 200 Europeans and 600 sepoys.

[2] I believe, a mistake; but it must have alarmed Dupleix, as suggesting that the English had serious designs on the Carnatic revenues.

Fort, the Fort itself, and the city walls. I hear that Qalandar Khân said that he would certainly do so.

Saturday, September 11.[1]—On hearing that Chandâ Sâhib had given his physician (whose name I do not know) the Dêsûr killa which formerly belonged to Old Gingee, the younger son of the Râjâ of Old Gingee, Kuppiya Nâyakkan and others with their servants visited the Governor four months ago, and have at last agreed to pay him 40,000 rupees and Madame 5,000. They have now paid this amount and received a sanad for the killa. The hakim has been given Musaravâkkam killa with its jaghir instead of the Dêsûr killa; he has been ordered to entertain men enough to guard the fort during the troubles. I also hear that Kêsava Râo has received a present.

Madanânda Pandit came to me to-night with Tirumalai Râo and Râmachandra Râo, vakîls of Yâchama Nâyakkan's sons, and said, 'When Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân was in these parts after the slaying[2] of Nâsîr Jang, it was settled that the two Nâyak brothers should pay Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân two lakhs of rupees and Chandâ Sâhib one lakh. The two lakhs were paid to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân through Râmadâs Pandit. A jaghir had

[1] 2[9]th *Âvani, Prajôtpatti.*
[2] Reading *konru* for *kondu.*

before been given for 4,000 horse, although the mansab was 5,000 ; and so Muzaffar Jang and Salabat Jang wrote a sanad granting a jaghir for the remaining 1,000 horse. The Nâyaks showed this sanad to Chandâ Sâhib, and asked for a parwâna for the jaghir, promising to pay him his lakh of rupees. But Chandâ Sâhib demanded three lakhs. When the Governor was at Mortândi Choultry last hot weather, it was arranged through me that Tirumalai Râo and his brother should each pay 25,000 rupees to the Governor, 50,000 in all, with a lakh for Chandâ Sâhib, and a letter should be written to Chandâ Sâhib desiring him to issue a parwâna in accordance with the sanad granting a jaghir for 1,000 horse. It was also settled that both should give the Governor a dress of honour and an elephant. But now they have presented Madame with 4,000 rupees, begging for two months in which to pay Chandâ Sâhib's lakh, the vakîls delivering a bond for that amount to the Governor who is requested to inform Chandâ Sâhib that the lakh of rupees sent to him by Mîr A'azam was on account of Yâchama Nâyak, and obtain a parwâna for the jaghir and a receipt for the lakh of rupees. They also request the recall of Chandâ Sâhib's *sazâwals* sent for the three lakhs of rupees. It has now been decided to make the grant.'

Madanânda Pandit added that the vakîls had given a bond to the Governor for a lakh of rupees payable in two months. The vakîls said that this was true. But they said nothing about their agreeing to pay 50,000 rupees to the Governor. This, however, matters little, as the Governor will see to it. I think that they must have promised to pay the amount to the Governor and Madame; but I do not know what has been done about the promise made to Madanânda Pandit that he should be appointed manager of Yâchama Nâyak's country and given a village.

Although I was told I should get an inam village worth 1,000 pagodas a year, with a commission of one *per cent.* yet I have got nothing, as I did not manage the affair.

Sunday, September 12.[1]—Powder, shot, etc., were despatched to-day to Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Arcot. Pâpayya Pillai's son was given some muskets, shot and powder for his father ; and a letter was written to Pâpayya Pillai directing him to raise men to prevent the English from advancing and attacking.

Muhî-ud-dîn Sâhib has received a letter from Conjeeveram saying that the English have reached Conjeeveram and tied *tôranams*

[1] 30th Âvani, Prajôtpatti.

there,[1] and that they intend to tie *tôranams* in Musaravâkkam and Kâvêripâkkam. He reported this to the Governor, and obtained powder, shot, cartridges and a few muskets.

Rangô Pandit who was at Gôpurâpuram with 1,000 people is said to have marched and surrounded the fort of Vriddhachalam, where are 150 sepoys, and 50 Europeans and Topasses belonging to the English. I also hear that Gôpâlanâranappayyan and other amaldârs have set out from Cuddalore to seize the Panchmahals.

By order of Pôlûr Muhammad 'Alî Khân, Hailât Khân, the Pathan, has directed Gôvinda Râo (Hasan-ud-dîn Khân's man) and Saiyid Khân (Sardâr Khân's son) to raise some horsemen. These are said to have marched with a few troopers, Muhammadan and Carnatic sepoys and match-lock people, and have camped near Dâmerlê[2] in order to attack the English.

Tuesday, September 14.[3]—At ten o'clock this morning I went to the Governor and reported the choultry news and the news about the Company's merchants' godown.

He then asked Madanânda Pandit what Chandâ Sâhib's letter said. He replied that

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[1] Clive reached Conjeeveram, August 28 September 8

[2] Unidentified; but it may be meant for Dâmal.

[3] *1st Purattâsi, Prajôtpatti.*

Chandâ Sâhib had received 50,000 rupees which the Governor had sent, and that he intended to cross the Coleroon and occupy Srîrangam.[1] 'Good,' he said and then asked if letters written yesterday to Salabat Jang, etc., at Aurangabad in Telugu had been translated into Persian. He replied that they would be finished by this evening.

I then said, 'Of the Pâchchakkadai cloth, 34 or 35 corge got wet. The remaining five have been packed, and what got wet will be sent back to be washed at Pâchchakkadai by a boat which is to sail to-morrow.' The Governor said that this had only happened because the people who had sent the cloth had tried to make a little extra. He asked me to write to the merchants about it; and said he would tell the Second to write about it to M. Le Riche. I then went to the office.

At twelve o'clock the Governor sent for me and said :—'Yesterday our people seized letters going from Trichinopoly to Fort St. David, written by the Englishman[2] there to the Governor of Fort St. David, saying that the Mysore army had not yet arrived, but that when they did, he would, in conjunction with

[1] Cf. p. 29 *supra*.

[2] Captain Gingens was in command. The Fort St. David Council had been continually ordering him to attack the French, and he (as now) had been continually excusing himself.

them, attack the enemy. I think this must mean that an agreement has been made between the Râjâ of Mysore and Muhammad 'Alî Khân.[1] Though no troops have yet been sent, they would not have written thus had they not expected help. As soon as you go home, send for the Mysore vakîl, remind him that we have treated with respect the vakîls whom his master sent out of friendship with presents but that now we see he wishes to attack us by sending help to our enemies; if now his troops attack us or help the enemy, we will seize his country and take his fortresses. Let the vakîl write this to his master.' I said I would do this, so, when I got home, I sent for the vakîl, had a letter written and despatched and reported this at six o'clock this evening.

At seven o'clock to-night, he sent for me again and asked what the vakîl had said when I spoke to him. I replied, 'He said that if the Râjâ had meant to send assistance to Muhammad 'Alî Khân, he would not have sent a vakîl here; but that then at all events the Râjâ had had no such idea, and it was not the vakîl's fault, if afterwards the principal ministers changed their minds. He reminded me that I had already been sent by you to ask

[1] A letter from the Mysoreans promising to join Muhammad 'Alî was received at Fort St. David in October, but they did not actually arrive at Trichinopoly until the following year.

him if the Râjâ was going to help Muhammad 'Alî Khân, and said that his master's reply to his letter directed him to declare that no help would be sent to Muhammad 'Alî Khân, but that troops had marched only as a measure of precaution. He said he had such a letter with him; but complained that Chandâ Sâhib was always abusing the Mysoreans to the Mysore vakîl at camp, and threatening to seize the country. I cannot tell what he has written to Mysore.'

When I said this, the Governor replied, 'It is true that Chandâ Sâhib is displeased with the Râjâ of Mysore, but what does that matter? He can only succeed by our help, and if the Râjâ of Mysore is friendly towards us, we shall never deceive him or march against him.'

So when I came home at nine o'clock to-night, I sent for Narasinga Dâs, the Mysore vakîl, and told him these details. He said he would write another letter and have it despatched at sunrise to-morrow.

The Governor asked me why no cloth had come in from the Company's merchants. I replied, 'The merchants have heard from several places that the English are marching on Arcot, etc., and may plunder them; besides, their goods have already been plundered seven or eight times and they have suffered great losses;

so they have fled to various places with all their goods. Hence the delay in sending in cloth.' The Governor asked me to tell the merchants to write to their various agents that 2,000 soldiers, 2,000 Topasses, 5,000 or 6,000 sepoys, and 1,000 Coffrees, with 50 guns, 20 mortars, and large quantities of powder, shot and other munitions of war, were being sent from Pondichery to Arcot, so that no fort or army could resist them.[1] I told Arunâchala Chetti, Chinnayya Chetti, Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti and others accordingly, and asked them to write about 100 cadjan letters. They are writing them accordingly.

Wednesday, September 15.[2]—News came from Arcot this evening that two hours after sunrise yesterday[3] 50 English soldiers with an officer hoisted their flag on the Arcot palace and occupied the fort and at ten o'clock 200 English soldiers, 100 Topasses and 200 sepoys arrived with two great and two small cannon, 8 chests of powder, and 2 chests of liquor. Shaikh Muhammad, brother-in-law of Darvêsh

[1] I am not aware of the exact numbers despatched against Clive from Pondichery; but Dupleix' numbers are much larger than the total forces at his disposal. The Europeans he sent amounted to about 150 'tarpaulin rascals,' who distinguished themselves in this campaign by a most un-French lack of gallantry. The incident in the text is a good example of Dupleix' imaginative system of politics.

[2] *2nd Purattâsi, Prajôtpatti.*

[3] Clive reached Arcot September 1/12. He hoisted first the Nawâb's flag, but subsequently English colours.

Muhammad, is with them. On the day before Pôlûr Muhammad 'Alî Khân, Gôvinda Râo Tirumalai Râo and others fled to Vellore.

Friday, September 17.[1]—Several letters came one by one between four and six o'clock this evening from Chandâ Sâhib saying:—'I am about to cross the Coleroon into Srîrangam. Your army under M. d'Auteuil have obstinately refused to follow me, demanding to return to Pondichery, and objecting to cross the Coleroon. If M. d'Auteuil departs, let M. Law be appointed commander. I have sent jemadar 'Abd-ul-nabî Bêg Khân with 1,000 horsemen. Muhammad 'Alî Khân has sent vakîls with a letter promising in the most solemn way to accept the terms of the former cowle, twenty days after the receipt of which he will send off all his provisions and deliver the killa to me. If you will order M. d'Auteuil who has the old cowle to give it to me, and send me the necessary instructions, I will receive the cowle, make terms in accordance therewith and hand it over.' The Governor replied to it as follows:—'Don't trust Muhammad 'Alî Khân. He only asks for 20 days' delay in order to strengthen his position at Arcot, make further troubles, and collect provisions and troops at Trichinopoly, without the least

[1] *4th Purattâsi, Prajôtpatti.*

intention of giving up the fort. So cross the Cauvery and attack Trichinopoly. Although you have sent Mirzâ Muhammad 'Alî Bêg with 1,000 horsemen, yet write also to your son, Razâ Sâhib, to march at once to Arcot with another 1,000 horse. I have recalled M. d'Auteuil and M. Brenier and appointed M. Law commander with orders to cross the Cauvery before your army and capture the fort of Trichinopoly, and act as you advise. Let there not be even half-an-hour's further delay. Cross the Coleroon and the Cauvery, and give battle.'

In addition to this, a letter was written to Razâ Sâhib, asking him to march on Arcot with his troops ; and another to M. Law appointing him commander of the army, and directing him to consult Chandâ Sâhib and advance to attack the fort of Trichinopoly.[1] M. d'Auteuil and M. Brenier have been recalled. Such is the news.

Râjagôpâlan's elder brother is said to have come and reported that Vâsudêva Âchâri would not allow Râjagôpâla Pandit (whom Madame had sent as amaldâr of Tirupati) to exercise authority, but had driven him out.

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1 According to Law's own statement he set out from Pondichery for camp on September 8 and took command on the 18th. *Plainte du Sieur Law*, p. 20. This date is confirmed by the Memoir of 1755 printed *ap. Revue historique de l'Inde française*, 1918, p. 271. Probably Ranga Pillai's news is rather belated.

I went to the Governor at six o'clock this evening to give him a copy of the Râjâ of Travancore's cadjan letter written out on paper. He was angry as no cloth has yet come in.

Saturday, September 18.[1]—I hear that Pôlûr Muhammad 'Alî Khân who fled to Vellore has written to the Governor that, when the English army, encamped at Arcot, marched against Timiri fort, he sent his son, with a small force belonging to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore, and Gôvinda Râo, Hailât Khân, Sardâr Khân's son, Saiyid Khân and other forces; that these drove off the English army in disorder when they attacked Timiri, with a loss of 4 or 5 Europeans and 7 or 8 sepoys killed and a few Europeans and sepoys wounded, who have taken shelter at Arcot; moreover they took an English flag and a camel laden with shot, arms, etc., and declared that, if reinforcements were sent quickly, the enemy should be driven out of the Arcot killa.[2] The messengers were given a present of 6 rupees and a reply was written as follows:—'You have done wisely, and I will send reinforcements. You should march with

[1] *5th Purattâsi, Prajôtpatti.*

[2] This probably refers to Clive's first movement against Timiri on September 4/15, when the English lost one sepoy. I do not find the flag elsewhere mentioned, and the statement is improbable.

all your available troops, Murtazâ 'Alî Khân and the killedars, mansabdars, etc., and subdue the enemy.'

This evening a letter came from Mahé saying that, in spite of all assistance afforded to the Râjâ of Kôlattanâd, the English and the Ikkêri people were helping his enemies who had become very powerful, so that more troops were needed.[1]

Sunday, September 19.[2]—After the Governor had returned from hearing mass, I reported the news and then went to my office.

I hear that Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore has sent two messengers to the Governor with letters, saying:—'I am fighting with Muhammad 'Alî Khân's[3] army against the English. Moreover I sent people to remove the flag hoisted by Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân's people. If you send troops before the enemy can strengthen himself, I will not suffer the English to remain at Arcot, but will drive them out. Therefore make no delay, but send reinforcements immediately.' The Governor replied that he would send reinforcements accordingly, and that the Killedar should do his best to destroy the enemy or drive them out, and that he had given similar orders to all killedars

[1] See the *South Kanara Gazetteer*, pp. 65, 70, and 74-75.
[2] *6th Purattâsi, Prajôtpatti.*
[3] *Sc.* of Pôlûr.

and poligars. I heard no other important news.

The Governor is so angry on account of the disturbances[1] that even I fear to stand before him; how much more then will others fear?

Friday, September 24.[2]—As bleached and unbleached cloth were being sorted at the Fort this morning, I went thither, and then went to the Governor's at half-past eleven to report (with other news) that 31 bales had been packed: I then went to my office.

Chandâ Sâhib's son, Razâ Sâhib, visited the Governor at half-past six this evening with 10 or 15 horse-men and 100 peons, talked with him till eight o'clock, and then went home.

I also intended to visit him, but, as I expected it would rain, I only sent a message with my respects and came home.

At ten o'clock to-night, I heard that the Governor had asked Razâ Sâhib to march immediately to attack the English and drive them out of Arcot. He replied that, as to-morrow was an inauspicious day, he would march the day after. He asked Madame to get him two lakhs of rupees towards the charges of his

[1] Because they threatened his finances at their most vulnerable point. How was the campaign to be carried on, if the Arcot revenues were cut off? and above all, how could he otherwise recoup his large private advances to Chandâ Sâhib?

[2] *11th Purattâsi, Prajôtpatti.*

3,000 horse, who otherwise might retire from Vâlikondâpuram to Gingee, and refuse to accompany him to battle. She sent him away, saying that the Governor would be angry if she mentioned it then, but that she would watch for an opportunity of telling him.

OCTOBER 1751.

Monday, October 11.[1]—Gôpâlanâranappa Ayyan, Sivanâga Reddi, Viswanâtha Reddi, Chandrasêkhara Pandit and others with a small company set out to plunder Tiruviti, Bhuvanagiri and other places. The Governor of Fort St. David therefore grew angry with Gôpâlanâranappa Ayyan and recovered 10,000 rupees from him. I hear that the matter has thus been settled.

Cloth was being packed at the Fort this morning. When I went there, the Second said, 'The captain says that he has no more room in the ship. 200 bales will have been sorted to-morrow and the rest can be sorted when the ship has sailed.' I went to the Governor and reported the number of bales ready, and then went to the office.

I hear that Qutb-ud-dîn Khân has set out for Arcot with the 40,000 rupees which he obtained to-day.

Letters were received to-day saying that Chandâ Sâhib's army was encamped round the fort of Trichinopoly; that 'Alam Khân[2] and other poligars were marching to Chandâ Sâhib's assistance; that 'Alam Khân had sent 60,000 rupees for Chandâ Sâhib's expenses; and that the Râjâ of Mysore and Chandâ Sâhib were on bad terms.

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[1] *28th Purattâsi, Prajôtpatti.*

[2] The man who had seized Madura on behalf of Chandâ Sâhib.

NOVEMBER 1751.

Monday, November 8.[1]—When I went to the Governor, I heard that a letter had come from Chandâ Sâhib at Trichinopoly. I read it, and reported the contents to him as follows:—'I have read and understand your letter, accompanying Salabat Jang's peremptory parwâna[2] to Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Trichinopoly, and the copy of a parwâna to the Governor of Fort St. David. Salabat Jang has addressed them in such language as should be used. I sent the messengers who brought the parwâna for Muhammad 'Alî Khân on to Trichinopoly to deliver the parwâna secretly, and they have entered the fort, but none has yet returned with the news of its delivery and what has taken place in consequence. I will inform you as soon as news comes. Muhammad 'Alî Khân will prosper if he accepts a cowle according to Salabat Jang's orders, and departs; otherwise the sepoys in the fort of Trichinopoly who have obtained a cowle, will deliver the fort to me in 7 or 8 days, and I will send you the news.[3] As we have Salabat Jang's orders, the English will prosper only if they attend to their own business and quietly carry on their trade;

[1] *26th Arppisi, Prajôtpatti.*

[2] Tâkîd parwâna.

[3] Cf. the account given in the letter from Dupleix dated February 18, *ap. French Correspondence, 1752.*

otherwise, they will see evil days. The Râjâ of Mysore and I are friends, and his vakîl has proposed certain terms, to which I have given my consent to secure his assistance, because, for the present, he is the stronger. So I signed their demands and send a copy by which you will understand all things. If you will write with compliments to the Râjâ of Mysore's dalavâi, that you will fulfil the terms of my agreement, and that they may depend upon this, I will also write a letter myself and send both by their vakîl.'

The Governor asked what were the terms of the agreement. There were four clauses as follows:—

1. that our friendship shall increase daily;

2. that that part of the Trichinopoly country, which has been long in our possession, shall not be interfered with;

3. that the poligars, who have joined us, shall not be molested; and

4. that for the 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot who shall constantly remain with you, you shall assign for their maintenance land adjoining our territory yielding 3 lakhs of rupees.[1]

[1] It is not entirely clear whether these offers represent a genuine negotiation or were meant only to delay matters until the Mysore preparations were complete. But it is probable that they represent a stage in the bargaining between Mysore and Muhammad 'Alî, which ended in his unfortunate promise to cede Trichinopoly. If so, it would explain the delay of the Mysore troops to join him.

The replies were written as follows:—

1. our friendship shall increase daily as you desire;

2. that part of the Trichinopoly country said to have been long in your possession shall not be interfered with;

3. we will not molest any poligar except him of Turaiyûr; and

4. Sôndikuppam, and certain countries seized by the Tondimân, which will yield 3 lakhs of chakrams shall be assigned for the maintenance of 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot.

When I said that such proposals had been presented by the Mysore vakîl, accepted and signed, as were written on a separate paper, the Governor told me to reply to Chandâ Sâhib's letter as follows:—'You have settled affairs with the Râjâ of Mysore for the present; and that is well. But you have not obtained the three or four lakhs of rupees which we need for immediate charges. This does not matter; but you should attempt to get something at least towards our expenses. As you desire, I have written to the dalavâi. Make every effort day and night to capture the fort without delay.'

He also asked me to write to the dalavâi with compliments saying that he would fulfil Chandâ Sâhib's agreement. This letter is to be sent along with that to Chandâ Sâhib. I

told Madanânda Pandit to have the letters written and despatched; and then went to the office.

Tuesday, November 9.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he ordered me to send for the four messengers who have come from the Râni of Bednûr, and tell them to inform their mistress that the affair about which they had been sent could not be taken into consideration, but that, if she desired the friendship of the French, she must grant them certain territory, and that she should consider both the misfortunes which had befallen Nâsîr Jang and others by reason of their hostility towards us, and the prosperity that had attended Chandâ Sâhib, Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, Salabat Jang and others owing to their friendship with us.[2] He also ordered me to get 100 rupees from Parasurâma Pillai for the messengers.

When I informed the messengers of this, they replied that our people had seized part of their country, by force, but that, though they could have recovered it with ease, they

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[1] *27th Arppisi, Prajôtpatti.*

[2] This affair is apparently connected with the Kolastry dispute, in which the French and English were of course on opposite sides. See above, pp. 44–45. See also Logan's *Malabar Manual*, pp. 390–391. Almost at the same moment the English at Tellicherry entered into a definite alliance with Bednûr (Logan's *Treaties*, Nos. lxvii and lxviii).

had not done so, for the sake of retaining our friendship, and supposing that we had acted thus by reason of matters having been misrepresented. Therefore, (they said) they had written the whole matter, in order that we might understand all things and give such orders as might be necessary; but if they were asked to give up the very purpose with which they had been sent, they could say nothing more except that, although the English had offered their help, it had been declined out of regard for our friendship. The Governor replied, 'Whom have the English ever helped? They have already betrayed Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, and Nâsîr Jang; and now they are about to treat Muhammad 'Alî Khân in Trichinopoly in the like manner. They are indeed clever in persuading men to trust them, and under a pretence of help, they drain them of their money, and abandon them in midstream. That is all they are capable of.' So saying the Governor again ordered me to give them a hundred rupees and despatch them, with his letters to the Râni of Bednûr and the dalavâi.

He then asked me if he should send any presents to the Râni of Bednûr. I said, 'Presents should not be sent by her harkaras, but we should send them by our own people after the harkaras have gone away; or perhaps you might desire M. Louët, the chief at Mahé,

to send some. That would be best.' He agreed and told me to remind him the next time he was writing to Mahé. I said I would do so, and went to my office, telling a Company's peon to ask Chinna Parasurâma Pillai to give 100 rupees to the Bednûr harkaras.

Saturday, November 27.[1]—To-day, the Company's merchants' cloth, the Kârikâl muslin, and the Company's merchants' coloured cloth, etc., 30 bales in all, were packed.

I hear that letters came to-day from Chandâ Sâhib and M. Law at Trichinopoly saying that Hasan-ud-dîn Khân and his troops attacked the battery built by Mr. Cope outside the gate of Trichinopoly fort, captured an English officer and 10 or 15 Europeans, and carried off the guns, etc., there.[2] They say that the fort will soon be taken, for Mr. Cope and Mr. Gingens are on ill terms, the latter favouring Muhammad 'Alî Khân, and the former opposing him, but money is needed for expenses and the lakh of rupees sent last month was not enough. 'This,' they say, 'is not the time to stint anything, but to spend what is necessary to secure our success; so two lakhs of rupees should be sent at once.' I hear that

[1] *15th Kârttigai, Prajôtpatti.*

[2] This was an entrenchment flung up between the French Rock and the S.E. angle of the town. Orme (who dates the occurrence in October) says the Captain and 9 Coffrees were carried off (*History*, Vol. I, pp. 201–202).

the messengers who brought these letters were to receive 20 rupees as a reward for their good news and were sent back with the Governor's answer.

I hear that the rope dancers gave an exhibition of their skill this evening.

Sâmbayyan came and told me that yesterday the Governor has ordered elephants to receive half rations from to-day, that is, a little over 4 pagodas' worth of forage instead of $8\frac{2}{3}$ pagodas' worth.

I also hear that Pâpayya Pillai has been ordered to bring his accounts in from Chingleput. It is reported that Shaikh Muhammad Sharîf, 'Abd-ul-nabî Bêg, Muhî-ud-dîn Sâhib, Barkhush 'Alî Khân, and Pâpayya Pillai, who were at Tiruvallûr, departed when the English troops approached that place, Pâpayya Pillai going to Chingleput and the rest to Arcot.

DECEMBER 1751.

Monday, December 13.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked me what day was fixed for sorting the bleached cloth. I replied that 100 bales were ready at any time.

He then remarked that the news of the death of the Râjâ of Mysore and his dalavâi must be false. I replied, 'The Mysore vakîl said that such was the news received and added that he had sent people to learn the truth as soon as he had heard of it. They went to Dharmapuri above the Chengama pass, where Nandi Râjâ (younger brother of the Râjâ of Mysore's dalavâi, who exercises all authority), has assembled 2,000 or 3,000 horse and 5,000 or 6,000 foot. Morâri Râo is also there with 2,000 horse and has visited Nandi Râjâ. Both intend to march beyond Salem as far as Mûnuchâvadi and thence proceed to Magaruvûr in order to help Muhammad 'Alî Khân against Chandâ Sâhib. He says he is not their agent, but only a merchant dwelling in their country, who was coming with his uncle and Sambu Dâs to visit you. He was therefore charged to bring you the presents of friendship, and only agreed in order to seize the occasion of speaking of certain matters of trade, but is not a regular vakîl and receives no pay from them.

[1] *2nd Mârgali, Prajôtpatti.*

After his coming with the presents, I told him that they were insufficient and he agreed to obtain 10,000 rupees, on the receipt of which he was to be permitted to go. He then asked permission to depart, but was told that he must still wait some days. So he waited, and two peons were sent to watch him. He begs with tears to be allowed to go at once, else he will die of fear.' The Governor replied, 'It will be no good keeping him in prison. They are mean people, or they would not behave so. We may send him away as he is of no use. Tell him so, and let him pluck up courage.'

He then said, 'Chandâ Sâhib is enjoying the peshkash of the Arcot, Trichinopoly and Tanjore countries in the Carnatic; but while I was at Mortândi Choultry last month, a grant was received bestowing the country on me and allowing him only a share of the revenue. I intended to have *tôranams* tied in the Company's name, but then the Marathas came, so I put it off.[1] But the country will be ruined if it remains in Chandâ Sâhib's possession. He succeeds in nothing, makes every one his

[1] On October 13 Bussy wrote to Dupleix :—' Je vous avais promis sur ma tête de vous faire nabab de cette contrée ; la voilà dégagée. Le Divan m'en a promis le paravana en votre nom et après vous á la nation française. . . . Je crois qu'il convient à la réception du paravana que vous fassiez venir Chanda Saëb père et fils et leur dire : Soyez les bienvenus, restez tranquilles, je suis nabab du Carnate ; et prendre à votre compte toutes les trouppes.' Hamont, *Dupleix*, p. 166.

enemy and never keeps his word. He appoints one man over a country; and before he can assume office, he gives it to some one else who has asked for it. Moreover he has made enemies of the Râjâs of Mysore and Tanjore; and that is why he has not taken Trichinopoly, and why they are helping Muhammad 'Alî Khân. He has treated the poligars in the same way, so that they have joined the English, taken Arcot and other places, and hindered all cultivation. The troubles are growing worse. So we must assign a jaghir to him and tell him to eat and live at peace.[1] If he gives any sign of mischief, he shall be seized and sent by ship to Mecca where he can spend his life in religious exercises and acquire merit.'—'Will that indeed be done?' I said, and, after speaking of other matters, took leave and went to the office.

God has dealt justly with Chandâ Sâhib and punished him within the year for his having cheated me.[2] As yet there is little known, but all will shortly know it; the time is at hand; and others too will suffer likewise as they deserve. This they cannot escape, for God is just and will do justice.

[1] This list of complaints against Chandâ Sâhib recalls the attitude of Holwell and Vansittart to Mîr Ja' far in Bengal.

[2] I suppose by promises of rewards never fulfilled.

Friday, December 17.[1]—The Governor received news to-day that, when Razâ Sâhib was encamped at Vellêri, the other side of Arni, the Marathas and the English advanced with their troops and attacked him so that he fled to Chêtpattu with the loss of many.[2]

The Governor has dismissed Nârâyana Sâstri from being amaldâr of the Wandiwash country, appointing Sivarâma Pandit in his place, with the present of a dress of honour.

I hear that Muttu Mallâ Reddi of the Tindivanam country visited the Governor with a nazar of 11 mohurs and 21 pagodas, and Madame with a nazar of 5 mohurs and 21 pagodas.

Sunday, December 19.[3]—I went to the Governor's this morning, salaamed and reported the news. Mîr A'azam came and said that Razâ Sâhib wished to return and then go out again, as, when he set out some time ago, the omens were inauspicious; and that therefore he begged the Governor's permission. The Governor replied angrily, 'When those Maratha thieves came with 1,000 horse, you fled first to Vellore and then to Chêtpattu, with the loss

[1] *6th Mârgali, Prajôtpatti.*
[2] For contemporary accounts of this action, see Forrest, *Life of Lord Clive*, Vol. I, pp. 155, etc.
[3] *8th Mârgali, Prajôtpatti.*

of all your baggage.[1] Surely it is a great dishonour to return here, and not even remain at Chêtpattu.' Mîr A'azam replied that the troops had already reached Gingee, and that the Sâhib Zâda had told him to explain that he would only come in with a hundred horse and return at once. The Governor angrily ordered a letter to be written telling him to return to Chêtpattu. I hear that the Governor himself also wrote.

Madanânda Pandit and Pâpayya Pillai are said to have come to an agreement, at ten o'clock last night by which in return for 10,000 rupees the Brâhman will obtain for Pâpayya Pillai his old appointment as Tahsildar. Madanânda Pandit went to Pâpayya Pillai's house at ten o'clock last night, and received a dress of honour worth 200 rupees.

[*Tuesday*], *December 21.*[2]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he said that Qutb-ud-dîn Khân and Mîr A'azam threw all the blame upon M. Brenier,[3] the commanding

[1] This alludes to Clive's successes at Arni, etc.

[2] *10th Mârgali, Prajôtpatti.* The Madras transcript gives 'Sunday.'

[3] The Chevalier Mouhy is said to have commanded the French troops before Arcot (Castonnet des Fosses, *Dupleix, derniéres luttes*, p. 8); I suppose he had been superseded afterwards. Brenier, who was later on to be well beaten at Trichinopoly, became captain in 1748 (Pondichery to the Company, October 25, 1748, P.R. No. 7). In 1752, we read, 'M. Brenier est actuellement commandant à Gingy. Il s'est marié à Mlle. Salminiaque, la fille d'un capitaine de vaisseau de la Compagnie. C'est une femme digne de mari tel que Brenier. Vous sçavez ce qu'il mérite ; pour moy, je ne sçaurois en dire assez de bien.' (*French Correspondence*, 1752, *Intercepted letters*, September 10, 1752.)

officer, saying that they had had to retire to Chêtpattu because he had fled thither. The Governor has told Qutb-ud-dîn Khân to go to Razâ Sâhib and tell him to advance again against the English and the Marathas and attack them, adding that he himself would write about it, and that he would confirm the Tiruppâchûr country to Qutb-ud-dîn Khân. The latter then took leave and departed.

I hear that Kavîswara Kastûri Rangappan, the Turaiyûr vakîl, was sent for and told to write a letter, saying that they should hinder all provisions being carried into Trichinopoly, that *tôranams* should be tied in the Mysore country, and that provisions should be sent to M. Law, Shaikh Hasan, Chandâ Sâhib, etc. The Governor himself wrote letters about this.

Thursday, December 23.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked me if any cloth would be ready for packing to-morrow. I told him there would be 100 bales of blue cloth.

The Governor said, 'The rumour of the dalavâi of Mysore's death is true; that is why Nandi Râjâ, who was moving this way, has returned to Mysore. Morâri Râo is so strong that he has plundered all the Mysore country.' I replied, 'I have not received any news about

[1] *12th Mârgali, Prajôtpatti.*

it, but the Company's merchants have from Salem. I told you before that when one day some loads of the Company's goods were being despatched, Morâri Râo, and Nandi Râjâ came with 4,000 or 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot, surrounded the Salem mint and fort, and plundered every house except those of two or three merchants, even Nandi Râjâ's silver washing vessels being carried off.[1] The Company's goods only escaped by being carried into the fort until they had marched off to Karûr. That is all the news I have heard. If your news is true, I shall hear about it.' After talking with him about other affairs, I went to the office.

Sunday, December 26.[2]—After I returned from the Governor's this morning, I heard that there had been a battle between the English and Hasan-ud-dîn Khân at Trichinopoly, in which 'when Hasan-ud-dîn Khân had been repulsed after a severe fight, M. Law and 'Alam Khân moved to his assistance with their troops, and rescued Shaikh Hasan and those who remained with him; Hasan-ud-dîn Khân has left his camp for Chandâ Sâhib's.

[1] Thus in the Tamil. I suppose Nandi Râjâ's name has been inserted by error, unless Morâri Râo was a yet more dangerous ally than is usually supposed.

[2] *15th Mârgali, Prajôtpatti.*

I also hear that Madame sent for Kastûri Rangappan, the Turaiyûr vakîl, and told him that the French would certainly occupy the Mysore country and forts, slay the Tondimân, and capture the Tanjore fort and country, and that she had sworn to do all this, if God gave her life.

Friday, December 31.[1]—Pôlûr Nârâyana Râo, Khân Bahâdûr's vakîl, has written from Chandâ Sâhib's camp before Trichinopoly that 'Abd-ul-rahîm Khân (younger brother of 'Abd-ul-jalîl Khân who is serving Muhammad 'Alî Khân in Trichinopoly) sent word to Hasan-ud-dîn Khân that, as he and Muhammad 'Alî Khân had quarrelled, he wished to join Hasan-ud-dîn, and proposed that the latter with only a small escort should visit the mantapam near the bridge south of the fort; on which, when his arrival had been reported by a man whom he would post on the fort-wall, he ('Abd-ul-rahîm Khân) would ride out alone on a white horse to converse with him. Hasan-ud-dîn Khân, believing this, set out with 100 or 150 horse and 200 sepoys, without informing Chandâ Sâhib or M. Law or any one else, as though to interrupt the enemy's work on the battery. When he had reached the mantapam, 'Abd-ul-rahîm Khân rode out on a white

[1] *20th Mârgali, Prajôtpatti.*

horse with ten or twelve horsemen, having treacherously posted in a water-course 500 men and 2,000 sepoys in three parties. Hasan-ud-dîn Khân, being ignorant of this, advanced against him and opened fire on the 10 or 12 horsemen. Muhammad 'Alî Khân's 500 horsemen and 2,000 sepoys then came out of their ambush and fired upon Hasan-ud-dîn Khân and his 100 or 150 horsemen. Though the latter fought bravely, he lost 40 or 50 of his troopers; but also slew many of 'Abd-ul-rahîm Khân's men. On this, 300 sepoys were sent from the battery to assist Hasan-ud-dîn Khân, and Chandâ Sâhib advanced with 500 horse, 'Alam Khân with 300, and M. Law, with some Europeans and sepoys, and two guns. These fought valiantly on behalf of Hasan-ud-dîn Khân against Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops. When the enemy fired 20 guns ready and double shotted from the walls, 10 or 12 soldiers and a few sepoys and others were killed, and some wounded. But many on the enemy's side were also killed and wounded; thereupon they retreated, and our people abandoned the battery which they had occupied, and moved to Chandâ Sâhib's camp. This news was written to Krishna Râo who informed me of it.

I hear that Pâpayya Pillai has news (which he has reported to the Governor) that the English have captured Conjeeveram and that

Saiyid A'azam and others have fled to Chingleput. I also hear that the day before yesterday, yesterday and to-day the Governor repeatedly demanded the collection accounts from Pâpayya Pillai and Kêsava Râo and even threatened to have them beaten. It remains to be seen what will happen.

JANUARY 1752.

Saturday, January 1.[1]—I hear that the letter received to day from Hirâsat Khân of Sâtghar says that Maratha troops under Bhujanga Râo are said to be marching through the passes towards Arcot and that he will write where they are going as soon as he receives reliable news.

The cultivators will return to their homes as soon as the Marathas have departed.

Such is to-day's news.

Toppai Mudali's son, Arunâchalam, who was at Covelong with Vîramarâjâ by Madame's orders, wrote both to me and to her, reporting that, while Vîramarâjâ was at Manimangalam, he had sent vakîls to Peddu Nâyakkan of Madras and to Malrâjâ, and that he was secretly helping the English. As M. Le Blanc also wrote to the Governor about it, the latter replied asking him to persuade Vîramarâjâ to go to Covelong where he was to be seized and sent in here. At that time M. Le Blanc framed a cunning plan to get M. Melon (an enemy of his) falsely accused, hoping thereby to drive him out of the country or to get him punished. His plan was this :—He pretended

[1] *21st Mârgali, Prajôtpatti.*

that Vîramarâjâ and M. Melon were in league to help the English, and sent the Governor a cadjan letter, which he pretended he had seized on its way from M. Melon to Vîramarâjâ. When the Governor had read it, he sealed it up again and returned it to M. Le Blanc, ordering him to send for M. Melon and enquire into the matter. So M. Melon, Arunâchalam and the talaiari who brought the cadjan letter, were summoned to the fort at three o'clock one afternoon for an enquiry. The amaldârs, cultivators, nâttârs, etc., were also summoned as witnesses. But Arunâchalam, believing that all this was a trick, fled secretly. M. Melon has written to me, saying that Arunâchalam did this as an enquiry was to be held. As soon as Arunâchalam arrived, I sent Elaichiyappan to ascertain what he had to say. He went and questioned Arunâchalam accordingly, who said as follows :—'When Vîramarâjâ was formerly released, he gave 200 rupees to Christiana, Madame's Topass serving-woman, and saw Madame by her means. When he took leave, he asked Madame to send me with him and Madame did so. So I went with him. But, on my arrival, I learnt his evil designs of helping the English, and, fearing that, if I remained with him, he might involve me in trouble, I went to Covelong. There M. Le Blanc and M. Melon were on bad terms, so

the former sought to incriminate the latter by writing a false cadjan, without address, with a small note, which the talaiari was ordered to deliver to M. Melon as if coming secretly from Vîramarâjâ, with a warning that he would lose his head if the matter came to light. But a peon showed me this cadjan, asking for whom it was, and where the talaiari was. Thereon I was perplexed, not knowing what to do, and thinking it genuine. So I delivered it to M. Le Blanc. He read it, and told me to make a copy of it which he kept, and sent the letter to the Governor, who had it sealed up and sent it back for enquiry. Thus he tried to deceive me into giving evidence. When I learnt this, I departed. M. Le Blanc has behaved treacherously. When the cadjan reached the Governor, he sent for Madame, asked her angrily if she had seen the letter and told her that M. Melon was secretly in league with Vîramarâjâ to help the English. Madame replied that M. Melon had written to Vîramarâjâ, asking him to win over to our side Peddu Nâyakkan and Malrâjâ, and that, as nothing certain was known, I should be summoned. This was done, and I am here. She ordered me to stay here, and come whenever she sent for me. So I remained in my house and I shall tell Madame everything when I see her.'

Sunday, January 2.[1]—I told the Governor this morning, that the Company's merchants wished to pay him their New Year's visit. As they asked M. Delarche, yesterday, or the day before, to be present when they visited the Governor, he was there before them. The Company's merchants then visited the Governor with their nazars. He received them and ordered sandal, rosewater and *pân supârî* to be distributed. Having received these, the merchants spoke (by M. Delarche's interpretation) as follows :—' You have announced that you intend to convert the Villiyanallûr temple into a fort and raise batteries. But if this is done, no one will remain there, so be pleased to do otherwise. You formerly said that you would build a small fort there ; be pleased to do that, and order money to be advanced for the expenses.'[2] The Governor replied, ' If the temple is converted into a fort, it will be all the more secure. You may use the inner court, and the soldiers and sepoys will only use the outer one.' When they repeated their request, the Governor replied that, if they liked, they might build a small fort round the outer court themselves. They declared that they could not do that. ' Very well,' he replied, ' then I will build the fort, but you must raise the temple walls and the

[1] *22nd Mârgali, Prajôtpatti.*

[2] *i.e.*, of the temple.

two walls at the entrance.' The merchants agreed. The Governor then turned to me and said, 'What do you say to that, Rangappa?' I said that the proposal was right. The Governor was somewhat dissatisfied at their visit having been arranged by a European, instead of by the usual person, and because the nazars were not of the customary amount. [.]

Thursday, January 6.[1]—When I went this morning to pay my respects to the Governor, Madanânda Pandit was reading a letter from the Trichinopoly camp to Madame, who in turn explained it to the Governor. I waited in the hall outside. Afterwards the Governor came out to the central hall to meet the Bishop and Madame went to her room. Madanânda Pandit came out. The Governor then called Madame and asked her to speak to the Bishop; and came up to me. Madanânda Pandit was there. The Governor said that a letter had come from Chandâ Sâhib, saying that the dalavâi of Mysore was dead, but that the matter had been kept secret for 20 or 25 days, that Kântayarâjâ, the former commander, had been appointed, that this news also had been kept secret for 15 days, but had been announced at last; that Nandi Râjâ, the

[1] *26th Mârgali, Prajôtpatti.*

Sarvâdhikâri,[1] was at Karûr, that he was not the younger brother of the Mysore dalavâi,[2] and that Kântayarâjâ, the present commander, and Chandâ Sâhib were good friends. He added, 'Although we have been hearing for the last two months that the dalavâi was dead, yet the Guzarâti merchant who came here as vakîl declared that the news was false. He must be a dog, a rascal of evil purpose. Can the dead be brought back to life by concealing the news ?' Reflecting that, if the news proved true and if I had cast any doubt upon it, [.]

Monday, January 31.[3]—To-day, Madame Dupleix persuaded the Governor to write to the Râjâ of Mysore, asking him to help, not Muhammad 'Alî Khân, but the French, and desiring presents to be sent by Narasinga Dâs, the Mysore vakîl, and Kanûngo Narasinga Râo of Masulipatam, our vakîl. Narasinga Râo has been given 600 rupees for his expenses, and despatched in a palankin with an escort of sepoys and Company's peons.

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[1] The second minister in rank, next under the dalavâi. He was supposed to be specially charged with revenue matters. Cf. *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 582.

[2] The whole of this news was false ; but whether Chandâ Sâhib was deceived by it is less clear. His rival, Muhammad 'Alî, had a habit of forwarding welcome news to the English when his affairs met with any check. It may have been the same with Chandâ Sâhib. I am entirely at a loss to account for his statement that Nandi Râjâ was not the younger brother of the dalavâi.

[3] *21st Tai, Prajôtpatti.*

FEBRUARY 1752.

Saturday, February 12.[1]—This morning I presented nazars of 21 pagodas to the Governor and 11 to Madame Dupleix ; the Company's merchants gave 44 pagodas to the Governor and 11 to Madame ; and Madanânda Pandit, etc., gave the Governor and Madame a nazar of 5 rupees each and paid their respects. When Madame received us, she said that her son, M. Vincens, had killed single-handed 2,500 or 3,000 men, while M. Bussy, M. Kerjean, etc., took all the credit, and that her son alone had routed the Nânâ and his troops. She continued praising her son's valour and bravery until we all took leave. Each replied suitably, echoing her praises, and then departed.[2]

Sunday, February 13.[3]—When the Governor had returned from church this morning, I visited him, paid my respects and reported the town news, grain news, etc.

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[1] *4th Mâsi, Prajôtpatti.*

[2] This son of Madame Dupleix was appointed lieutenant in 1750, with rank from 1746. He, Bussy and Kerjean, composed the corps of officers who commanded the troops detailed to accompany Muzaffar Jang to Hyderabad in the previous year. The selection of Madame's son and Dupleix' nephew for this service indicates how beneficial it was expected to be. Later on in this year Vincens returned to Pondichery with some 40,000 gold mohurs, besides a quantity of pagodas, silver and gems, according to the current rumour (*French Correspondence*, 1752, p. 115). Dupleix himself confirms this, stating on December 24, 1751, that he had remitted 2 lakhs in hard cash to Pondichery (Cultru, *Dupleix*, p. 346). I do not remember any references to the superior valour which Madame here claims for him.

[3] *5th Mâsi, Prajôtpatti.*

He then said, 'Our friend, Razâ Sâhib and the rest who marched to attack Madras have plundered the Poonamallee, etc., countries, Mýlapore, the Great and Little Mounts, etc. They are said to be selling their booty—grain, cattle and whatever else they can find. Our people must have taken much plunder; even the coolies have become rich enough to live at ease.'

I then said, 'About two hours' journey from Madras, there is a place called Saidapet, where many rich merchants lived. I hear that many of them have been plundered. Besides this there is a place called Kunnattûr nearly as large as Saidapet; that too has been plundered; while many of the merchants at Madras have moved their wealth into the Fort for fear of even that place being raided. Some have even gone with their goods to Pulicat, and others to Sadras. They who have once already been burnt, fear the old story may be repeated, and run to and fro like drops of water on a lotus leaf. If, at such a time as this, M. Le Blanc at Covelong had been wise enough to encourage people, many from Madras, Mylapore, and the Poonamallee countries would have settled there. But he troubles people so that all fear him and prefer Pulicat or Sadras.'—'True,' he replied, 'I will take an opportunity to get rid of him, and send some one else.'

He then asked the Trichinopoly news. I replied. 'I hear that Nandi Râjâ, younger brother of the dalavâi of Mysore, who was camped at Karûr with Morâri Râo's troops has marched to Trichinopoly with 6,000 horse and 20,000 or 30,000 foot and provisions, to help Muhammad 'Alî Khân.'—'True,' the Governor replied, and added that, but for the help of the Râjâ of Mysore, Muhammad 'Alî Khân could not have withstood us so long. I agreed. He went to his room to write and I went to the office. Only the help of God is effectual; man's help matters nothing. So great a man as Nâsîr Jang, Pâdshâh of the Deccan, was overthrown; but Muhammad 'Alî Khân, weak as he is, has been able to resist us for a year. Thus God reveals to all how powerful is His help and how feeble the help of even the mightiest man.

MAY 1752.

Friday, May 12.[1]—When I went to the Governor at nine o'clock this morning, he said, 'Coja Nâmat-ul-lah Khân and Muzaffar Khân have reached Kandanûr with a large army. Three messengers have just arrived and say that they are marching here.' He then read the French and Persian letters, so I went to the office.

Âchâram Tarwâdi (Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji's gumastah) came and said that his people had brought letters from Salabat Jang's camp and that they had been 20 days on the way. When I asked where Salabat Jang and his army were, Tarwâdi replied, 'They were at Pâlaki, 40 kos beyond Hyderabad, and intended to pass the rains at Hyderabad. Moreover Nâmat-ul-lah Khân is to get the subah of Arcot,[2] and, according to Salabat Jang's orders, his brother, after subduing Munawar Khân's Pathans, who are causing trouble at Kandanûr, will march into these parts to suppress the disturbances caused by the English, Muhammad 'Alî Khân, the Râjâ of Mysore, and others. When he has seized Arcot, he will obey the General of Pondichery.

[1] *3rd Vaigâsi, Ângîrasa.*

[2] Son of Coja 'Abd-ul-lah who would have become Nawâb of Arcot in 1744 but for his sudden death. Nâmat-ul-lah Khân himself had acted for a few months about that time as deputy to his father. He had recently been Nawâb of Rajahmundry.

They have marched therefore, Coja Nâmat-ul-lah Khân with 5,000 foot, and Muzaffar Khân with 1,000 foot and 300 horse and have reached Gadawâl, a town this side of the Kistna, four leagues distant from Kandanûr. He was about to raise batteries and attack Munawar Khân's Pathans encamped near Kandanûr, when our people came away. He will move to Arcot after defeating and punishing them, and taking possession of their country. Then he will march against Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Trichinopoly. On hearing of Coja Nâmat-ul-lah Khân's march with a small army, the English, Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the Râjâ of Mysore have resolved to resist him and Muzaffar Khân to the utmost. Harisankara Tarwâdi at Trichinopoly writes that [the English, etc.] have resolved to drive from Srîrangam to Pondichery or to destroy altogether Chandâ Sâhib with his Muhammadan troops, M. Law and Shaikh Hasan with the French troops before they can be joined by Nâmat-ul-lah's troops, Muzaffar Khân's troops and the troops that will arrive by the Europe ships, as after that it would be impossible to dislodge the French. The English have determined to fight to the end, and even spend the Company's money on continuing the war if Muhammad 'Alî Khân can find no more. They have fought so hard that they are certain not to give way now but will fight harder than ever.

Salabat Jang wrote to them asking why they had joined Muhammad 'Alî Khân to create disturbances and threatening them with punishment unless they desisted. But when this letter was read, it was torn in pieces and trampled under foot, and the messengers were first imprisoned and then driven away. The news from Salabat Jang's camp is that the money left in the treasury by Nizâm Nâsîr Jang has been spent, the revenue that has been collected has not been brought in, the expenses are heavy, and part of the Nizâm's treasure belongs to Nâsîr Jang's wife and sons. The Pâdshâh has grown feeble and his authority decreases every day; Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân has been writing to many that Salabat Jang should not be recognized as subahdar of the Deccan, as he has joined men who would betray their own brother, and as he himself had done the like; that therefore if he were overthrown and the Deccan subahs seized, the Pâdshâh would send a parwâna of confirmation. So the money in the several treasuries is not sent to him; various killedars do not pay their peshkash, and money is so scarce that the sepoys and the Europeans are giving trouble on account of their arrears. When they attacked Sau Bhâji Râo, Râjâ Chandrasênan's son refused to march against him. In consequence Salabat Jang tried to seize and imprison Râmachandra Râo; but he

learnt of this and made ready to defend himself, until mediators persuaded them not to ruin everything by their quarrels ; but even so each hates the other, though outwardly they are reconciled. Moreover when peace was made with Bhâji Râo, Salabat Jang promised to repay the 40 or 50 lakhs he had formerly obtained, but he has not paid a single cowrie. If he remains there [Aurangabad], he may be required to march to Delhi to help the Pâdshâh against the Pathans, nor could he resist an attack from Bhâji Râo as before. As he has no money for his expenses, he will spend the rains at Golconda, marching by way of Pâlaki (south of Aurangabad and 10 leagues north of Golconda) which with its jaghir belongs to Râmachandra Râo, son of Râjâ Chandrasên. He will halt there, come to an agreement with Râmachandra Râo, and then march to Golconda. The Pathans have murdered Mîr Munû[1] (Qamar-ud-dîn Khân's son) at Delhi and their atrocities are indescribable. Men at Delhi say that the throne which till now has been held by the Moghuls, will soon be occupied by the Pathans. Delhi, etc., are in such confusion that something is sure to happen. Till now the Moghuls have exercised authority, but henceforth the Pathans will

[1] According to Grant Duff Mîr Munû did not die until 1758.

take their place, or the Râjâs of Hindustan, the Rânâ of Udaipur, etc., may become the masters.' When Âchâram had related all this, he said that he would come back to-morrow, and went away.

The Governor sent for me this afternoon and said that M. d'Auteuil had written from camp at Ûtatûr that the Marathas had departed, owing to some disagreement with the Mysoreans and Muhammad 'Alî Khân.

He also said that the two ships which had sailed from Bengal for Jeddah had lost their passage and put in here, and desired me to find a buyer for the rice, sugar, etc., on board and obtain 100 garce of salt for them. I agreed.

Sunday, May 14.[1]—I heard the following news to-day:—As Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops, the English and the Mysoreans intended to attack M. d'Auteuil at Ûtatûr, the latter has retired to Vâlikondâpuram with Shaikh Muhammad Sharîf and other sardârs, the troops and his treasure, considering that he could not resist them. M. Law, Chandâ Sâhib, etc., at Srîrangam with their troops are suffering much for want of food and money. As the money sent from here has not reached them, the troops have to live on what they can find. Moreover the sepoys and troopers have not

[1] *5th Vaigâsi, Ângîrasa.*

received a cash for the last three months; so many have deserted to the enemy. Thus Chandâ Sâhib's army has grown weaker and the enemy's stronger. As the troops are in the Srîrangam temple with the Cauvery and the Coleroon on either side full of water, they are living on the grain in the temple. Shaikh Hasan's troops who were at Kôyiladi, have been driven out, and the English troops have occupied it. 300or 400 of the troops there have joined the enemy, and others have resolved to obtain cowles and return with their arms to Pondichery.

I went to the Governor and told him that cloth would be sorted to-morrow, and that as the painted cloth, lampasses, chintz, etc., at Madras had not been released it had been necessary to promise a bribe of 1,000 pagodas which after great difficulty had been accepted. After reporting this, I went to the office.

Monday, May 15.[1]—As I have lost my diary-papers from the 7th to the 15th I have written nothing ; but I will do so if I find them.

This morning the Governor sent for me and Madanânda Pandit, and asked me to interpret while Madanânda Pandit read Salabat Jang's letter. I interpreted it as follows :—' I have read your letter and understand its contents. A certain jemadar here has murdered

[1] *6th Vaigâsi, Ângîrasa.*

Râjâ Raghunâtha Dâs[1] because he had not received his pay. Such was his fate, for who can resist God's decrees? You protected me while he lived, and must protect me now that he is dead. You will learn the rest from M. Bussy's letter. Please order him and Shaikh Ibrâhîm to guard me night and day. All that I have is yours.'

When I reported the letter to be thus written with compliments, the Governor told me to write a reply as follows:—'I have received your letter and grieve at what has befallen Râjâ Raghunâtha Dâs. But it was the will of God that he should perish by the sword; who could prevent it? The past is irrevocable. I have written to M. Bussy about what should be done. If you do as he says, all your affairs will prosper. Reflect that his advice is always just, remember it and obey it. I have written to him to guard your person and dignity; he will do this night and day. You will be constantly in my mind.'

I directed Madanânda Pandit to write out this letter according to the Governor's orders.

I was also ordered, to write to 'Abd-ul-bâqar Khân Sâhib, who is to be Dîwân in place of Râjâ Raghunâtha Dâs as follows:—

[1] *i.e.*, the Râmadâs Pandit, who had taken a considerable part in the plot by which Nâsîr Jang had been overthrown. He was murdered, according to Grant Duff, on April 7 (*History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, pp. 51, etc., ed. 1912).

'I have heard of your fidelity, nobleness and greatness. M. Bussy's letter lately received has increased my love towards you, and induced me to appoint you dîwân in place of Râjâ Raghunâtha Dâs. So long as you are dîwân, you must bear two things in mind; one is to labour with a single heart in Salabat Jang's affairs, and the other is to be our man and manage our affairs with all fidelity. If you will observe these, and behave well, you need fear nothing under our protection, and your authority will be maintained. You know how Râjâ Raghunâtha Dâs managed our affairs. I have written about other secret matters to M. Bussy who will inform you of them. If you will act properly, you and Salabat Jang will prosper.'[1] I told Madanânda Pandit to write a letter accordingly.

I was then ordered to write to Shaikh Ibrâhîm as follows:—'I have received your letter and am greatly grieved by the evil fate of Râjâ Raghunâtha Dâs. But what can we do, since that was the will of God? Guard Salabat Jang day and night and do whatever M. Bussy writes to you. Do not disobey him

[1] This letter is a curious illustration of the part the French played in the Deccan, exactly similar to that of the English in Bengal between 1757 and 1760. I suppose 'Abd-ul-bâqar Khân must be identified with Saiyid Lashkar Khân, who was in fact appointed at once. See below p. 105; but I have not found the Khân's name mentioned, either in Elliot or in the *Siyâr-ul-mutâkherin*.

even in the merest trifle.' I told Madanânda Pandit to write accordingly, and then went to the office.

When Madanânda Pandit reported that he had written the letters, the Governor sent for me and told me to let the Pandit read it to me. When he had done so, I repeated it to the Governor in Portuguese in accordance with what is written above. The Governor was satisfied and told me to put it in an envelope, seal it and give it to M. Bertrand.

Madanânda Pandit then asked leave to depart in order to be present at the tying of the *tâli* for his daughter at noon. The Governor gave him leave, and asked me if I also must attend the marriage. I said I should, and he gave me leave. So I first went to the office, and then at noon attended the *tâli* tying of Madanânda Pandit's second daughter and Rangô Pandit's son who is marrying a second time. In the marriage pandal, about 200 rupees were collected for the marriage of a Vaishnava Brâhman, a bachelor, and given to him. After witnessing the tying of the *tâli* I came home.

Tuesday, May 30.[1]—I was unwell to-day, so I did not go out.

At eleven o'clock, the Governor sent for me to come with the new merchants; I sent

[1] *21st Vaigâsi, Ângîrasa.*

a message that I was too unwell but would go to-morrow.

To-day I heard the following news :—Of the troops at Srîrangam with Chandâ Sâhib, M. Law, etc., only 300 troopers have received any pay for the last six months ; the rest have had no money to live on and have suffered much by the enemy's blockade. 4,000 or 5,000 musket people, 300 horsemen, merchants, etc., have therefore departed. They intended to have destroyed the Srîrangam temple just as they destroyed the Jambukêswaram temple ; but the temple-people saved it for the present by giving them 60,000 rupees and the grain stored there. No one knows what will be done. They have paddy and rice for a month, but cannot get salt or other provisions. The Cauvery and the Coleroon are full of water. The English, Marathas, and Mysoreans are in readiness all round them, at Samayavaram and Kôyiladi, etc.; and allow none to pass with provisions. M. d'Auteuil who retreated from Ûtatûr to Ranjangudi, has halted there.

JUNE 1752.

Tuesday, June 6.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he was busy with M. Albert and Madame, answering the European letters that came yesterday, and writing some Persian letters. After reporting the news, I went to my private office.

There is news that the Pathans (who attacked Delhi, captured the fort of Lahore, and murdered Mîr Munû) having plundered Lahore of all they could find, have restored it to the old Killedar and returned home owing to the approach of the rains. The Hindustani Râjâs near Delhi have assembled together, and collected a lakh of horse, in order to support a boy of Alamgîr Pâdshâh's family, and sent a vakîl, with 12,000 horse, to Ahmad Shâh Pâdshâh with the following message:—'You are unfit for the throne; and we have with us a boy of Alamgîr's family who merits it. If you will abdicate and depart, a small country with a killa will be granted and you will be allowed to live in peace; otherwise we will seize you and establish this boy in your place.' The vakîl, with 12,000 horse, encamped near Delhi, and sent the message to Ahmad Shâh Pâdshâh. This news was written to Salabat Jang by

[1] *28th Vaigâsi, Ângîrasa.*

his vakîl at Delhi and brought here from Salabat Jang's camp to Kôdandarâma Pandit, Râmadâs Pandit's aunt's son.

Wednesday, June 7.[1]—Last night, I was stung by a scorpion between the fingers.

I heard to-day that Salabat Jang had brought Saiyid Lashkar Khân from Aurangabad and appointed him Diwân, that he had written to the Governor, and that the latter had sent a reply by a chobdar.[2]

I also hear that the crores of money in the treasury are exhausted, save a reserve of some 60 or 70 lakhs of rupees. As the sepoys, troopers, etc., have received no pay, they are giving much trouble; so Salabat Jang has Europeans always about him, but keeps the Muhammadans at a distance. As their arrears amount to 20 lakhs of rupees, the camp is full of complaints and confusion.[3]

Thursday, June 8.[4]—There is news of Chandâ Sâhib's writing to the Governor, that M. Law has gone over to Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English, and ruined everything. The Europeans, Muhammadans and Tamils are all saying that they have the same news from the officers who have quarrelled with M. Law.

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[1] *29th Vaigâsi, [Ângirasa].*

[2] Cf. p. 100 above, where 'Abd-ul-bâqar Khân was named Diwân by Dupleix.

[3] Cf. the situation in Bengal during Clive's first government.

[4] *30th Vaigâsi, [Ângirasa].*

At six o'clock this evening, news came to the Governor that a Europe ship for China put in at Fort St. David this morning on her way to Madras to take in sandalwood, round-pepper, ivory, redwood, etc. She had touched at Mascareigne and brought letters from M. David, the Governor-General of that place, which the Governor of Fort St. David sent by a chobdar along with a letter from himself to our Honourable General. These were delivered at six o'clock this evening. The Fort St. David chobdar says the Captain of the China ship announced that 3,000 soldiers and 300 officers were on their way to Pondichery in a ship which would reach Pondichery in ten days.

Friday, June 9.[1]—I heard this evening that another Europe ship for China had touched at Fort St. David this morning, to deliver letters to the Governor, and that this ship and the one which arrived yesterday would sail for Madras.

At six o'clock this evening, the Governor sent for me and said that M. du Bausset had reported to him that the weavers of Villiyanallûr intended to go away, as they had not been paid, and demanded why the merchants had delayed their payments. I replied, 'They are delaying because they have no money. I

[1] 31st *Vaigâsi, Ângîrasa.*

have already reported this and asked you to pay them soon.'—'Yes,' the Governor angrily replied, 'but I hoped that they would themselves find money. If the Company has to find the money, what is the use of employing these mules? I will appoint other merchants.' He was so angry that he would not see the harkaras or even the vakîl to their great trouble.[1]

Tuesday, June 13.[2]—As soon as I returned from reporting the news to the Governor, a European from Vâlikondâpuram, wearing a Muhammadan turban and gown, arrived in a dhooli and reported news to the Governor. The Governor took him into Madame's room. His face was troubled; so fearing that bad news had come from the south, I went to my office.

Half an hour after, I heard that when Rangô Pandit and the troops reached M. d'Auteuil at Vâlikondâpuram, the latter assembled his army and prepared to advance upon Srîrangam. Birki Venkata Râo with the Maratha troops, the Mysore faujdar and some English who were encamped by the high ground at Samayavaram fell upon him. After some loss on both

[1] At this point in the transcript occurs the diary of June 30, which has been transferred to its proper place.

[2] *3rd Âni, Ângirasa.*

sides, M. d'Auteuil retreated to Ranjangudi being unable to reach Srîrangam. Some of our troops fled. M. d'Auteuil, Rangô Pandit, etc., on reaching Ranjangudi, marched round the walls; but Mu'tabar Khân would not admit them and helped the enemy to get in their rear and attack the camp. M. d'Auteuil thought that it was no use fighting longer, and surrendered without a blow. Birki Venkata Râo seized Rangô Pandit and all the money, goods, etc., that he had brought. The money taken is estimated at two lakhs of rupees. I do not know if this is true or not; I have but written what I hear.[1]

I hear that chobdar Badê Khân was sent this evening with letters to the Governor of Madras, with orders to go to Covelong by catamaran, land there and proceed to Madras, deliver the letter to the Governor, and bring back his reply.

I hear that letters have come from Salabat Jang, bestowing Arcot on Chandâ Sâhib and Trichinopoly on Muhammad 'Alî Khân, as was agreed before. I suppose the letter now sent is about that affair.

[1] For this action, cf. Orme, *History*, Vol. I, pp. 234-235. The troops attacking d'Auteuil were commanded by Clive. The English story was that d'Auteuil had secreted a great part of his treasure in his private baggage. But Ranga Pillai's version seems very probable.

Wednesday, June 14.[1]—Nârâyana Pillai and a dubâsh (whose name I do not know) received presents and left for Madras after their afternoon meal.

Thursday, June 15.[2]—The Governor sent for me this morning and asked if any soldiers had arrived by the two China ships. I said I had heard that 50 soldiers had landed from each ship. He then asked, 'What do people say about the Europe news and our ships' coming?' I said I could only repeat the bazaar-news—God knew whether it were true: and I spoke as follows:—'They say that the enemy have been ordered to make peace with you. But at the Council at which it was resolved to send troops to Muhammad 'Alî Khân, it was decided that the union of the French and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân or Salabat Jang would ruin English trade if they conquered Arcot; so the Council resolved to help Muhammad 'Alî Khân to occupy the Trichinopoly and Arcot countries. A letter also was written to Europe by Mr. Saunders saying that, should Muhammad 'Alî Khân fall, either by the power of his enemies or an act of God, it would be necessary to expend the Company's money in conquering Arcot, etc., for some one else of his house. And they are acting thus also. In case Muhammad 'Alî

1 *4th Âni, Ângîrasa.*
2 *5th Âni, Ângîrasa.*

Khân's affairs go indifferently, they trust to Sampâti Râo to recover the advances they have made.' The Governor replied, 'This agrees with the orders that were sent when I wrote to the English Company about the injustice of their Governors. Neither the subahdar of Arcot, Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân nor Salabat Jang interfered with the English when they seized the Poonamallee and Devanâmpattanam countries, but left them in quiet possession. So Mr. Saunders has written lies to the Company.' He then went into the centre hall, and I went to my office.

I think the Governor went to tell Madame.

I heard at ten o'clock that Chandâ Sâhib had tried to escape disguised as a faqîr, but was seized; when the news reached Fort St. David, a salute was fired and sugar distributed.

At noon the Governor sent for Periyanna Nayinâr and gave him a list of persons, warning him to let none of them leave the town with their families or goods. This list includes Razâ Sâhib, Chandâ Sâhib's son; Shaikh Hasan's and Muzaffar Khân's people, and a few other Muhammadans; Kêsava Râo, his women and children; Pâpayya Pillai and his family; Madanânda Pandit and his family.

This list was written by Appu and delivered to Periyanna Nayinâr, with orders to post men to watch the roads and houses carefully.

I hear the Nayinâr is stopping Brâhman travellers who have no pass.

The Manilla ship will lie at Covelong for ten days and then sail, whether the Madras goods have arrived or not.[1]

Friday, June 16.[2]—I hear that the Governor received the following news from a peon :—Chandâ Sâhib, Shaikh Hasan, M. Law and other sardârs, with their troops at the Srîrangam temple, were surrounded by Muhammad 'Alî Khân, the Mysoreans, the English and Morâri Râo with their armies so that no provisions could reach them. So in despair Chandâ Sâhib agreed to pay a certain sum to Manôji Appâ of Tanjore and Morâri Râo, to be escorted beyond Tanjore and then sent to Kârikâl. He was to be disguised as a faqîr. So he set out, escorted by Morâri Râo. But Muhammad 'Alî Khân's people discovered Chandâ Sâhib and declared that they would take him to the Fort of Trichinopoly; but Morâri Râo's and the Tanjore people replied that they had already given him a cowle, and thus carried him off in haste to Tanjore. Afterwards at ten o'clock the Governor received a letter in Chandâ Sâhib's own hand saying that

[1] As Madras chintz was a staple export to Manilla, the prohibition decreed by the Madras Council against assisting the French trade thither was severely felt at Pondichery. This seems to have been an attempt to elude it.

[2] *6th Âni, Angirasa.*

he had received the 5,000 pagodas sent him by the harkaras and that he had reached the Fort of Tanjore. The Governor rejoiced that Chandâ Sâhib had escaped to Tanjore instead of being delivered into the hands of Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Trichinopoly and that the Tanjore people and Morâri Râo were on his side.[1] I hear that the messengers got 100 rupees as a present.

I hear that M. Law, Shaikh Hasan and the rest are still in the Srîrangam temple, but is not known what they will do. Chandâ Sâhib has not been sent to Tanjore but was detained at the Dalavâi's Mantapam where the Tanjore troops are encamped and then taken to Manôji Appâ's tent.

As the Governor took physic, no one visited him this evening.

Saturday, June 17.[2]—At nine o'clock this morning I went to the Governor's to report the news. The Governor, Madanânda Pandit, M. Albert and Madame have been writing letters to Salabat Jang's camp day and night for the last three days. As they were still busy, I went to my office.

I hear that M. d'Auteuil who was captured at Vâlikondâpuram and taken to the fort of

[1] The news was of course false.
[2] *7th Âni, Angîrasa.*

Trichinopoly as a prisoner of war, has promised the English, according to the European custom, not to fight again or take up the sword. He has been sent under escort to Tiruviti, after taking leave of Muhammad 'Alî Khân and Mr. Lawrence to whom he passed his word, accompanied by a guard of ten men including officers. It is said that he will arrive at noon to-day. It is said that the same terms were offered for the release of Rangô Pandit, but were refused.

M. d'Auteuil and one or two officers who went with him, M. Aubert [?] and five or six European guards, arrived at half-past five this evening. He went to the Governor and remained talking with him till eight. He went home at half-past nine after supper.

I hear that after M. d'Auteuil's conversation, the Governor was very sad.

Sunday, June 18.[1]—At noon to-day one arrived with the following news:—When Chandâ Sâhib, who was in Manôji Appâ's camp, was saying his prayers, last Monday morning, his head was struck off, and his head with the body, was carried on a camel for all to see to Muhammad 'Alî Khân in the fort of Trichinopoly. At the time of his death, Gundô Pandit, Guruvappâ and a servant were

[1] *8th Âni, Ângirasa.*

with him. Gundô Pandit who was standing behind Chandâ Sâhib, begged that his head might be cut off instead, but was pushed aside, and Chandâ Sâhib was killed. Guruvappâ told this to Râghava Pandit, and said that this news was purposely kept from Razâ Sâhib: so no one yet knows it.

A certain man told me at three o'clock that they were saying in Pâpayya Pillai's house that, when M. d'Auteuil reported the murder of Chandâ Sâhib, the Governor was so overcome that he could neither go to church nor eat his dinner. This was the fatal period in Chandâ Sâhib's life, so he could not have escaped. According to the Vaippûr astrologer Sîtârâm, this is the year of Saturn's malignant influence, which returns every twelve years. So he could not escape.

Tuesday, June 20.[1]—The Governor sent for M. Law this morning, and questioned him about all the important matters, and wrote down his answers. He then read part aloud and questioned him again. It is not known what M. Law told him. He was taken back under custody to M. Bury's house in the Fort where he slept last night. M. Marragon[2] was fetched to confront him but it is not known what statements M. Law made

[1] *10th Âni, Ângîrasa.*
[2] Secretary to the Pondichery Council.

I hear that the Governor then sent for MM d'Anteuil and Brenier. After speaking with them, he ordered M. Brenier and four officers to march to Gingee.[1] I also hear that M. le Verrier has been ordered to take command of Valudâvûr.

I saw the Governor, and then went to my office. There was no more conversation.

The Governor sent for me at seven o'clock to-night and asked if I had heard of M. Law's imprisonment. I said I had. The Governor continued, 'You are a man of understanding. When M. Law delivered Chandâ Sâhib to the Tanjore people, he should have insisted on getting a Maratha noble as a hostage. When the plan was being arranged, M. Law asked Manôji Appâ to take oath. He did so by proxy, sending Dâûd Khân, a Pathan noble who swore on the Qurân. Afterwards M. Law asked for a hostage until Chandâ Sâhib should have reached Kârikâl safely, but Manôji Appâ refused. That showed that he meant to cheat us; otherwise why should he have refused to keep to the agreement? M. Law should have seen this and not sent Chandâ Sâhib till he had received the hostage. He is much to blame.'[2] I agreed that his conduct was most

[1] Owing to its unhealthiness, I believe Gingee was regarded as a penal garrison by the French officers at this time

[2] This statement of the case against Law should be compared with Law's declaration of June 26, *ap. French Correspondence*, 1752 pp. 57, etc

blame-worthy, and pointed out other mistakes which he had made. The Governor asked,' But who ever took a man to his house after swearing to save him, and then murdered him?'—'I have known a few such,' I said; 'but within three months of their perjuries, their own families have been blotted out.'—'See what your arbitrators did,' he exclaimed. I replied, 'What of them? There are just and unjust men among Europeans, and Muhammadans, and Tamils, and every other people; yet the unjust do not abide, but are rooted up in a few months or years.' He agreed. I then went to my office.

Wednesday, June 21.[1]—At four o'clock to-day, I went to M. Cornet's. He had all the accounts written out, but the Governor sent him away, telling him to bring the statements of expenditure to-morrow.

On my way from M. Cornet's house this evening, I heard that Europe ships were expected. Opposite the Fort, I was told by the Governor's peon that he wanted me. The Governor said, 'I hear that Muhammad 'Alî Khân has been killed by Morâri Râo. Our soldiers and sepoys, who were prisoners, have been collected and armed, in order to prevent the English from doing anything. This news

[1] *11th Âni. Ângîrasa.*

has been written to Cuddalore and is matter of public talk. Is it true?' I replied that people had been saying so for the last two days. He continued, 'It happened last Sunday. There can be no mistake about it. The Europe ships too have reached the roads. From to-day onwards matters will go better.'[1] I replied, 'That is certain. Would God suffer him to live long, after having betrayed and murdered the man he gave promises to? Even the Pâdshâh with his crown is not so fortunate as you.'[2] With these compliments, I departed to my office.

Friday, June 23.[3]—Shaikh Hasan, our jemadar, with 300 soldiers and a few sepoys who were made prisoners of war at Srîrangam, are being taken to Fort St. David. I hear from numberless persons who accompanied them that they have reached Vriddhachalam and will be at Cuddalore to-day or to-morrow. They say that M. Law will be much blamed after Shaikh Hasan's arrival; for his misconduct at Srîrangam was indescribable. God smote them because He could no longer bear their injustice to men and women. Thus it was by their own evil deeds that the army was

[1] Perhaps the whole diary contains no better instance of the optimism of Dupleix and his reluctance to face disagreeable facts.

[2] An unlucky comparison. Before the news of his recall reached Dupleix, the Emperor Ahmad Shâh had been deposed; and before he sailed from India, the ex-emperor had been blinded.

[3] 13th Âni, Ângîrasa

swallowed up and they themselves fell into the enemy's hands, but none knows what further punishment will befall them. All that I hear would fill a hundred pages, so I have written the heads in four lines.[1] All say that M. Law helped the enemy. God alone knows the truth; but all believe he played false.

Saturday, June 24.[2]—Kêsava Râo was released this evening.

The Governor sent for me this evening and said:—'It is quite true that Morâri Râo has killed Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Trichinopoly. A sepoy's wife[3] who was there when his head was cut off, has just come now and told some Europeans.' Then the Second came The Governor asked him if he had filled in the prices of five or six sortments in the Investment contract. He said that he had given it me for that purpose. I told the Governor that only the prices of three items had still to be entered. The Governor answered, 'Nevermind now. Leave blanks in the contract for the prices; have the rest made ready and brought on Monday. Get the contract and tell M Noüal,[4] the notary, to attend here.' So I sent

[1] The 'four lines' run to a whole page of Tamil manuscript.

[2] *14th Âni*, [*Ângîrasa*].

[3] This sounds strange, but so the Tamil runs.

[4] Jacques de Noüal, a Company's servant, related (in what degree I am unaware) to Selle, who commanded a French country-vessel. In 1756 he was Judge at the *Chaudrie*. He had a brother who served in Bengal.

to my house for the contract. When M. Noüal arrived, the Governor told me to give it him. I did so together with a small piece of paper containing the names of both the new and the old merchants. M. Noüal took it and went away, saying that he would come on Monday morning with the writing. I went to my office.

The following are the names given in the contract:—

Guntûr Bâli Chetti.
Chinnayya Chetti.
Kulandai Chetti.
Tadi Arunâchala Chetti.
Tailappa Chetti.
Kangipâti Vîrâ Chetti.
Âdivarâha Chetti.

These seven names were written.

Sunday, June 25.[1]—The Governor asked me to-day the news about Muhammad 'Alî Khân. I said, 'No one has come in to say that he saw such and such a thing, so we cannot tell for certain. But as the whole country declares he is dead, we cannot say it is false. Moreover the news has reached Cuddalore, where such reports would be kept secret; but as they say even there that Muhammad 'Alî Khân has been killed by Morâri Râo, how can we

[1] *15th Âni, [Ângirasa].*

disbelieve it? In two days we shall know for certain.' He agreed. I then went to my office.

There a Christian merchant of this place told me that a Cuddalore Chetti had declared [ ].

Monday, June 26.[1]—Between half-past five and six this morning, I heard the following:—When the English army was at Trichinopoly, a certain English captain quarrelled with Mr. Clive,[2] was put in arrest and sent to Fort St. David. On the way he escaped and came here. The Governor sent him to Trichinopoly, where he and M. Law became great friends. But as he would not obey the other French officers and treated them with disrespect, all but three or four returned to Pondichery, and complained against M. Law. The Governor then sent for the Englishman, who has been here ever since. Every day he dined with four or five men, and gambled with them. Last night, he got drunk and when he was playing with M. [. . .], by dawn, the

[1] *16th Âni, Ângîrasa.*

[2] *Klês* in the Tamil. Later references support the identification. It is not clear who the deserter was. The only commissioned officers who deserted about this time, so far as I know, were Captain-Lieutenant Daniel Murray, who deserted to Pondichery in September, 1751, and Lieutenant William Keene, who deserted about the end of 1750. The first of the two is most likely meant, although I know of no evidence to show that he had quarrelled with Clive. He was reported to have received a commission from the French.

French officer had lost some 6,000 rupees; he paid 4,000 rupees, but refused to pay the other 2,000. Thereupon they quarrelled and swords were drawn. Though the Frenchman was wounded in the hand and belly, yet he ran the Englishman through, and fled; but was unable to get beyond Ariyânkuppam, where he dropped. He has been brought into the St. Paul's church. M. Barthélemy and M. du Bausset with a head-surgeon went to see him, and went away when they had written a declaration that his house had been sealed up. I hear that he will be buried this evening.

Tuesday, June 27.[1]—A camel-man came at one o'clock with letters from Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Trichinopoly, and, having received his reply, set out in the evening for Madras.

I now write the contents of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's letter as I heard it. If I hear anything more, I will write it down. [ ]

The reply:—'You will not escape punishment for your false oaths and treachery. You have disobeyed your master's orders, and will be punished accordingly.'[2]

[1] *17th Âni, Âṅgîrasa.*

[2] I am not aware of the contents of the letter to which this was the reply; but it must have been very different from the description which Dupleix gives in his *Mémoire* and which Malleson repeats without criticism. See *Mémoire pour le Sieur Dupleix*, pp. 79–80.

Wednesday, June 28.[1]—About seven o'clock this morning, the missionary bishop from Cochin-China[2] was embarking on a sloop for that place by way of Siam. The Governor and his wife went to the Church yesterday evening and took leave of him. As M. St. Paul (the Second) and M. Guillard were ordered to escort him on board the sloop and take leave, I went to the Church, hearing that they were there, and paid them my respects. Soon after he set out to go on board.

Thursday, June 29.[3]—I hear the [poligar] of Punganûr has sent presents to the Governor and Madame: that Madanânda Pandit got two pieces of parkallas and that Pâpayya Pillai [asked] the harkaras why he had received nothing. I then went to my office.

The Governor who was in the Fort, sent for me at five o'clock this evening and said:— 'I have 50,000 rupees of the Tanjore money and 6,000 rupees of the Ariyalûr money. Let the Company's merchants take this. They can use it to pay for cloth from Udaiyârpâlaiyam, etc., to the southward.' I agreed. He asked what it was worth. I said, 'The

[1] *18th Âni, Ângîrasa.*

[2] In a letter of February 19, 1752, to the Company, Dupleix describes him as 'Monseigneur l'evêque d' Eucarpie,' and later on attempted, though without success, to establish a trade with Cochin-China by his means.

[3] *19th Âni, Ângîrasa.*

Tanjore fanam is $6\frac{3}{16} - \frac{1}{4}$ to the rupee. The Ketti fanam is [ ]. But there is always a difference of $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{16}$. I will find out the bazaar rate and give it to the merchants.'—'See that you give it to the merchants to-morrow morning,' he replied. I said I would do so.

The Governor who was at the new *Gouvernement* then went on to the ramparts opposite the place where flowers are being arranged and verandahs built and plastered red. He pointed out the Europe ship which was coming in and said, 'Do you see that ship? She is the third ship that has come, and six more are expected. Three or four will arrive this month.' I replied, 'Not only will the ships arrive, but your enemies who have been prospering will now fare worse day by day till they are ruined; but you will prosper.' He smiled and turned to watch the ship, which was coming to anchor in the roads; she fired a salute of 11 guns, and the like number was returned from the shore. When he was still watching, catamaran-people brought some letters. The Governor then left the ramparts and went home. I hear that the ship is *La Reine*, commanded by M. de La Rivière. She has brought 106 chests of silver, some broadcloth and 70 soldiers. The captain visited the Governor at half-past six and

delivered the Company's letters from Europe. The Governor conversed with him for a short time; and then went to his room to read the letters.

The Europeans said to-night that Madame Pompadour, the concubine of the French king, had sent by this ship an enamelled gold watch set with brilliants and of wonderful workmanship, together with a finely-worked golden case for scissors, a knife, etc.—two articles in all—worth 1,000 pagodas. The ship's captain gave these to the Governor who showed them to all European ladies and gentlemen, saying that the watch had been sent him by Madame Pompadour and that it had cost him 60,000 rupees. I am told that the Governor said it had cost 60,000 rupees, when it was really worth only 1,000 pagodas, because he formerly sent that sum as a bribe to the king's concubine and she has sent these two things in return.[1]

I hear that M. de La Tour has written to the Governor refusing to continue as captain as he wishes to go home; and that the Governor has agreed; but his real reason is that M. d'Auteuil who arrived after him, has been

[1] After the recall of Dupleix, Madame is said to have had conferences with the Pompadour (Castonnet des Fosses, *La Chute de Dupleix*), showing that the intercourse continued.

appointed in M. Bury's place,[1] that he does not like to serve under him and desires to lay his grievance before the Company in Europe. He will get nothing but loss by his journey.

Friday, June 30.[2]—This morning I reported the news to the Governor. The ship that was to have sailed for Manilla last Monday, has been despatched from Covelong.

The Governor said, 'As Mr. Saunders prevented the painted lampasses, chintz, etc., from being laded on the Manilla ship,[3] she has had to set sail without them. As they will not be taken proper care of, tell the merchants to get them back at the earliest possible moment.' I therefore sent for the merchants who had provided Manilla goods, and gave them orders accordingly. I also wrote to Madras to have my goods brought back.

I hear that he has sent for M. d'Auteuil and told him to enlist 2,000 match-lock people. So the latter sent for the old jemadars and told them each to enlist two or three hundred. I saw crowds going to them for enrolment.

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[1] Bury was Major Commandant of Pondichery. La Tour was much senior to d'Auteuil, for his commission as captain was dated 1735, whereas d' Auteuil's was only dated 1750 (*Pondichery Records*, Vol. 28, ff. 460 and 537). But d'Auteuil had, of course, the advantage of having married a sister of Mme. Dupleix. La Tour was only the best soldier at Pondichery at this time.

[2] *20th Âni, Ângirasa.*

[3] See above, p. 111, n. 1.

I also hear that the Governor sent for Mirzâ 'Abd-ul-nabî Bêg and told him to enlist 500 men. So he is now trying to raise 200 horsemen besides the 300 at Gingee.

JULY 1752.

Saturday, July 1.[1]—I hear that the Governor has written to the Governor of Madras, asking him to give orders about Shaikh Hasan and the soldiers imprisoned at Fort St. David.[2]

This evening Tirumalai Râo and Râmachandra Râo, Yâchama Nâyak's gumastahs, took leave of the Governor.

At the time of Nâsîr Jang's death, the two sons of Bangâru Veligôtti Yâchama Nâyak came here. They gave two lakhs of rupees to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân for a mansab of 5,000 horse, and promised a lakh of rupees to Chandâ Sâhib. The lakh was paid to the Governor on Chandâ Sâhib's account and a receipt obtained, and the sanad for the mansab of 5,000 horse granted. They wrote to their father[3] saying that they had had to spend 20,000 rupees in darbâr expenses and batta. They made up the sum of 20,000 rupees by saying that 5,000 or 6,000 rupees would have to be paid

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[1] *21st Âni, Angîrasa.*

[2] Dupleix argued that the death of Chandâ Sâhib should have involved the release of all prisoners taken from him. The English replied with equal sincerity that the prisoners were Muhammad 'Alî's and their release depended on his will. Another point raised by Dupleix was that the prisoners could not be kept in an English fortress without breaking the peace between the Crowns. The English answered that the prisoners preferred being kept by them at St. David's to imprisonment by the Nawâb at Trichinopoly.

[3] Literally, master.

to Madanânda Pandit, 2,000 or 3,000 for batta, and the rest for darbâr expenses with Chandâ Sâhib. I believe that this story of them is true, and they did not even get a dress of honour for their father.

Monday, July 3.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he was busy despatching troops to Gingee, so the merchants' signing of the contracts was put off. I went to my office.

Krishnâji Kônêri Pandit, Murtazâ 'Alî Khân's vakîl, who arrived in a palankin to-day from Vellore with five or six harkaras, visited the Governor and Madame with a nazar of 11 rupees each, and said that as Chandâ Sâhib, by whom Arcot affairs had been managed, had been killed, if affairs were now entrusted to him, he would, with his poligars' and the Governor's help, capture the fort of Arcot and protect the country.

Wednesday, July 5.[2]—When I reported the news to the Governor this morning, he asked me to what places the merchants had sent money. [I replied], 'Of the 20,000 pagodas you have advanced, 10,000 have been sent to Udaiyârpâlaiyam.'[3]

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[1] *23rd Âni, Ângîrasa.*

[2] *25th Âni, Ângîrasa.*

[3] An important weaving-centre at that time, from which both French and English drew considerable supplies of long cloth and salampores.

I hear that vakîl Appan Pandit from [camp], M. Law's dubâshes, along with Savari Râo, Paramânandan, Innâsi, Muttu and others, have written a statement in French of M. Law's conduct. The Governor has been busy correcting it. Muttayyan and Vinâyakan also gave a written account of the report of Vinâyaka Pillai's people at camp. The Governor did not send for me this evening.

Friday, July 7.[1]—The Governor did not awake this morning, dress and open his door, till nine o'clock. I visited him and reported the news. He said, 'The Râjâ of Mysore and Muhammad 'Alî Khân have fallen out, and the Mysore Râjâ's people, including even the vakîl, are not allowed even to enter the Fort. Muhammad 'Alî Khân told them that the English had occupied it and refused either to give it up or allow any to enter, so that he could do nothing. Nandi Râjâ, the Mysore dalavâi, and Morâri Râo who are outside, declare that they will certainly kill Muhammad 'Alî Khân and take the fort.' I replied, 'This is true. Moreover, I hear that messengers are to be sent to you offering to pay the yearly peshkash which used to be paid to S'aadat-ul-lah Khân, in return for which you are to send troops to help their people to

[1] *27th Âni, Angirasa.*

capture the fort and country of Trichinopoly and take Arcot into your own possession. He also proposes to march with his troops to your assistance whenever required. Whether this is true or not will be known in ten days.'—'We shall see when the messengers arrive,'[1] he said.

The captain of the Europe ship gave the Governor a letter complaining of M. Barthélemy, whom the Governor sent for and talked to. Then both took leave and departed. I expected that he would write letters about M. Law's affair. I went to my office.

Saturday, July 8.[2]—This afternoon, Kôdandarâma Pandit (son of Râmadâs Pandit's aunt) took leave of the Governor in order to return home. I hear that the Governor gave him a dress of honour and 5,000 rupees for his expenses. Kôdandarâma Pandit proposes to begin his journey at an auspicious hour tomorrow. He will go aboard two or three days later, land at Karayêdu Râmayyapattanam or thereabouts, to visit his children who are in Ongole Râmachandra Râjâ's and Raghupati

[1] Muhammad 'Ali Khân had only secured the help of Nandi Râjâ by promising him the fort and country of Trichinopoly. When Chandâ Sâhib had been killed and Law taken, the Mysoreans claimed the performance of the promise. Muhammad 'Alî refused, on various pretexts, with the result that the Mysoreans (and Morâri Râo whom they were paying) joined the French.

[2] *28th Âni, Angîrasa.*

Râjâ's country. He will then go on to Golconda, if Narasinga Râo (Râmadâs Pandit's younger brother) has settled his affair; otherwise he will try to get a shrotriem village on which to live, from the wealthy Brâhman, Ongole Raghupati Râjâ. Such are his expectations, but matters happen according to God's decree.

Râmadâs Pandit sent this man here a year ago, with sanads to Chandâ Sâhib and the Governor, to be put in possession of the Conjeeveram country, so that he might establish certain charities there and elsewhere. But he was disappointed, being kept in Pondichery, and getting many promises but no money except what Chandâ Sâhib gave him to live on. After Râmadâs's death, even the promises ceased, so his business here failed altogether. Whenever he saw the Governor, he was told that Râmadâs Pandit had ruined everything; so, fearing some evil if he remained here, he resolved to depart, complaining that Râmadâs Pandit had granted Bunder, Dêvanakôttai and other places, yielding 20 lakhs of rupees a year, besides the fort of Valudâvûr with a jaghir of 10 lakhs and 25 or 30 lakhs as a present to the Governor, his wife and daughter.

It rained and blew at six o'clock this evening. Half an inch or three-quarters fell

in about half an hour, and then it only drizzled. When it stopped, I came home, took food and at eleven o'clock went to Emberumâl Pillai's house to attend his daughter's marriage with Chinnatambi Pillai's son. All had assembled at the *muhûrtam*.[1] They sprinkled rosewater, attar and other scents, and distributed *pân supârî*. All then departed. I reached home after twelve.

Sunday, July 9.[2]—I went to the Governor at half-past nine this morning and reported the news, on his return from hearing mass at church. He sent for his own writer and asked how much paddy remained in the jaghir villages.[3] He said there was only a little. He asked whose paddy was brought in yesterday. I said, the merchants'. After speaking to M. Bury he went to his writing room and I went to my office.

Monday, July 10.[4]—When the front-gate was opened at half-past nine this morning, I went to the Governor, who asked if I had any news from Trichinopoly. I said I had heard the following from a Brâhman from the Râjâ

[1] *i.e.*, the auspicious moment; in the present case the time selected for tying the *tâli*.

[2] *29th Âni, Ângîrasa.*

[3] *i.e.*, the villages in the Valudâvûr country, granted to Dupleix as a jaghir, and which he enjoyed until this region was occupied by the English under Coote.

[4] *30th Âni, Ângîrasa.*

of Mysore's camp at Woriyûr whither he had moved from Trichinopoly:—'As Nandi Râjâ, the Mysore dalavâi, and Muhammad 'Alî Khân were on bad terms, the Mysore Râjâ's people, including even the vakîl, were not admitted into the fort. So the Mysoreans enlisted the match-lock people who deserted our camp, and a few horsemen, and prepared to attack Muhammad 'Alî Khân. On this, the latter sent a vakîl to the Mysoreans, to offer them the fort and the country and fulfil his agreement as soon as he was established at Arcot. They replied that they could not trust him, as he had already broken his agreement, though confirmed by oath, to deliver up the fort and the country as soon as Chandâ Sâhib had been defeated, on which event they were to have escorted him to Arcot with their troops and Morâri Râo's, installed him, and departed when the country had been settled. Thus Muhammad 'Alî Khân has not agreed with them or given them Trichinopoly. But now that they have spent 40 lakhs of rupees and lost many men, in securing his success, how can they give it up? They must either make terms with him or seize him. If you would agree to give them Trichinopoly in return for the peshkash, they would help you with their armies, put you in possession of Arcot, and conquer Trichinopoly. They have already

offered this, and mean to send their people again with the same proposals. The dalavâi wishes to take Trichinopoly and rule it for himself. So the Râjâ wishes to check him, lest he should seize him as his predecessors seized the former Râjâ and took possession of the country. The Râjâ is therefore trying to strengthen himself and will then attack the dalavâi.'[1] The Governor replied to all this indifferently. I then talked about other matters and told him that all but thirty of the English troops had marched from Trichinopoly to Ûtatûr, Vâlikondâpuram and Ranjangudi.[2] At last I went to the office.

Tuesday, July 11.[3]—As the Governor sent for me, I went to the Fort this morning, and we went together to the washing-place. There the people told us that they had prepared no fire-places as they had no copper pots. The Governor asked me when they would be ready. I told him that twenty pots had come and that I would send them.

He looked out to sea and heaved a deep sigh. I said, 'I know why you are looking at

[1] This perhaps refers to the revolution and counter-revolution in the reign of Cham Râj, Wilks (2nd ed., Vol. I. pp. 143, etc.). But the reigning Râjâ had little chance of obtaining even the temporary success of his predecessor.

[2] The English troops had marched from Trichinopoly on June 18/29, but returned two days later, on account of the Mysore trouble. Dalton was then left in command with 200 Europeans and 1,500 sepoys.

[3] *31st Âni, Ângîrasa.*

the sea. By God's grace, the ships will come in the day after to-morrow, and from to-morrow God will bless you with prosperity. Your unlucky time will end to-day and to-morrow your lucky time will begin, with increasing prosperity, as you will see.'—'Many thanks,' he said with a bow. I bowed too, and said, 'Formerly you possessed great wealth. But then the English men-of-war came and seized the Manilla, China, Achin and [Pauri ?] ships and bombarded Pondichery in the year *Krôdhana*.[1] Then indeed you were troubled ; but then in the year *Akshaya*,[2] you captured Madras and your glory shone, not only here but also throughout Europe. Moreover in the year *Vibhava*,[3] Admiral Boscawen, the unlucky Rear-Admiral, attacked us with forty ships, having 6,000 soldiers, besides the Fort St. David army and 'Abd-ul-jalîl's people sent by Anwar-ud-dîn Khân ; for two months he rained fire on us from his mortars, 26- and 36-pounders ; but at last he accomplished nothing and returned with his face blackened. Although victory was yours, yet you still were troubled. To compensate for this, with the help of Chandâ Sâhib and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, you slew

[1] *i.e.*, 1745–1746. Barnett did not indeed bombard the town, but lay in a threatening attitude off it.

[2] *i.e.*, 1746–1747.

[3] *i.e.*, 1748–1749.

Anwar-ud-dîn Khân in the year *Sukla*[1] and conquered the Arcot subah. Again when Nâsîr Jang came in the year *Pramôdûta*,[2] our army fled, leaving Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân a prisoner. Then also you were troubled. But through Nâsîr Jang, you got as jaghirs for the Company, Masulipatam (with a revenue of 10 or 12 lakhs of rupees), Dêvanakôttai, Nizâmpattanam, Divi and other places. Besides these, the Valudâvûr and Karunguli countries, and the Nine countries[3] which yield 10 or 13 lakhs of rupees were also given in jaghir with a mansab of 7,000 horse, the Fish and other marks of honour. You also received the suzerainty over the country from the Kistna to Cape Comorin and possession of the Carnatic. This year indeed Muhammad 'Alî Khân has defeated the forces of M. Law, etc., sent against Trichinopoly, the Treasury has lost four lakhs of rupees and we have the sorrowful news of the cutting off of their leader, Chandâ Sâhib. Now in order to make up for this, our flag must be hoisted in Delhi. With God's favour, Mysore, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, etc., countries this side of the Kistna, will fall under your rule, and your flag will fly

[1] *i.e.*, 1749-1750.
[2] *i.e.*, 1750-1751.
[3] The Nine countries (Nao Mahal) formed a revenue district in the neighbourhood of Pondichery.

over Delhi.' As I said this, the Governor took off his hat, and bowed to me saying, 'Many thanks, Monsieur Ranga Pillai.'

He then pointed out four figures for which places are being made ready in the new *Gouvernement* in the Fort,—one holding scales in its hand, another looking into a mirror, the third reading a book, and the fourth caressing a serpent in its hand. He asked if I knew what they were. I replied, 'No': so he explained that the figure with the scales was *Justitia*; that with a book was *Commercium*; that holding a mirror was *Veritas* and the last with a serpent was *Prudentia*. There is another figure with a staff on the steps leading upstairs; this is called [ ]. He then explained, saying, '*Justitia* is justice, which must be measured as with a balance. It is very hard to be just, for a trifle affects the balance of the scales. A judge needs great intelligence and impartiality. If he in the least be partial, he will go to Hell. So he must take care. *Veritas* is truth. *Prudentia* [ ]. Then the figure with a staff in its hand like a watchman is [ ].' I forget the explanations of these two words but I will ask some one, or the Governor himself, should occasion arise, for which I have left blank space. We then spoke of the progress of affairs. M. Barthélemy, M. Auger and M. Albert came. He showed them the figures.

and, after talking to them, went home. I went to my office.

Thursday, July 13.[1]—This morning [ ]. Letters came by catamaran. The ship is the *Centaure*, commanded by Gardin du Broussay,[2] who was here in the year *Durmati*[3] with M. de La Bourdonnais' squadron as second captain. He is now full captain.

At two o'clock this afternoon, the Company's packet was delivered to the Governor. When the bearer came out after speaking with the Governor, one or two Europeans questioned him; they say that the captain will land to-morrow.

At half-past four this evening, I went to the Beach when troops and chests of silver were being landed. I asked some Europeans how many chests of silver and what troops had arrived, and what the Europe news was. They told me there were 121 chests of silver,[4] with 200 soldiers and officers, and broadcloth of the sorts usually sent from Europe. The news is that no more war is to be made on the Muhammadans. Peace must be made and

[1] *2nd Ádi, Áṅgirasa.*

[2] Identification uncertain. Ranga Pillai writes 'Gostumbiyérsholli' and 'Golumbiosholli.'

[3] *i.e.*, 1741–42.

[4] The ship brought 40,000 marcs of silver. *Mémoire pour la Compagnie, Pièces* No. xiv. L.

commerce continued without interruption.[1] Not a man is to be sent beyond the Bound-hedge. 700 soldiers in all have now been sent to protect our jaghirs; and the mansab jaghir villages possessed by the Company's servants are to be handed over to the Company.[2] This is what the Europeans told me; but I must ascertain its truth. I also hear that M. Bury is to do nothing and receive 50 rupees and that M. d'Auteuil has been appointed in his place.

Friday, July 14.[3]—When I went to the Governor at nine o'clock this morning and reported the news, he asked if any news had come from Madras. I replied, 'The peon, sent by the peons waiting there for the chintz, says that ten days ago some Europeans, Topasses and sepoys were sent by ship to recover from our people an island which the Pâdshâh granted

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[1] See for instance the letter from Montaron to Dupleix, dated 1st February 1752 (*ap. Mémoire pour la Compagnie*, p. 56), explaining how difficult it was to defend Dupleix' conduct on the strength of the peace he had made with Anwar-ud-dîn five years before. 'You cannot be surprised at this from a trading company, which suffers from every disturbance of its commerce.'

[2] Dupleix' letters regarding his own and other jaghirs had excited considerable criticism in France. See, for instance, Silhouette's letter of October 11, 1751 (*ap.* Cultru's *Dupleix*, p. 351). Decrees of the Council of State, dated June 6, 1750, and December 30, 1751, forbade the receipt of presents or gifts from foreign princes. See *Pondichery Records*, Vol. 84, f. 345.

[3] *3rd Âdi, Ângîrasa.*

them long ago but which we have seized."[1] He asked if that could be true. 'It is what the peon says,' I replied, 'but, if you please, I will send for him and you can question him.' —'No ; there is no need of that. You may go,' he said.

M. Gardin du Broussay, the captain of the Europe ship that arrived yesterday, landed. When a chobdar reported he had entered the towngate, the Governor at once went in to put on his coat and his red ribbon of St. Louis ; then he went on to the verandah this side of the central hall, to receive the captain and asked him to sit down at the end of the great hall. He himself sat down also and talked to him. M. Guillard, M. du Bausset and one or two Europeans also came and they all spoke loudly together. I went to my office.

Saturday, July 15.[2]—I went to the Governor's this morning and after reporting the usual news, added, 'I hear that two Europe ships have reached Tranquebar this year.[3] One of them belongs to the king of Denmark,

[1] The island was Divi island, which had been granted to the English by Farrukhsiyar in 1717, but never occupied. In February 1751, Charles Hopkins had been sent to hoist the English flag there by way of protest ; but I do not think anything was contemplated at this time. The rumour probably refers to the settlement formed at this time on the Negrais *Military Consultations*, 1752, pp. 20, etc.

[2] *4th Âdi, Ângîrasa.*

[3] I think Ranga Pillai means that *one* ship has come and that another is coming. But it is not what he says.

and has brought 500 men as Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the Râjâ of Tanjore requested at the time of Nâsîr Jang's invasion. The fort walls are to be extended, and money and engineers have been sent for this. A Company's ship is also coming as usual with money for an investment.' The Governor said, 'The ship that has just come is not the king of Denmark's but the Company's.' He then went to his room to write. I went to my office.

I heard the following news to-day:—When Salabat Jang wrote about granting the Governor a jaghir yielding 16 lakhs of rupees a year, he said that Ahmad Shâh Pâdshâh had summoned him to Delhi, that Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân was coming, that soldiers and sepoys must be sent from here, for which the jaghir of 16 lakhs of rupees was to be given. On this the Governor ordered sepoys to be raised, which is being done. These with 300 of the soldiers who are coming by the Europe ships will be sent by sea to Masulipatam for Hyderabad. I also hear that the poligars are troubling the people of the Divi and the Masulipatam country; and that therefore we are preparing to send soldiers and sepoys there.

Besides this, I hear that Salabat Jang has ordered Coja Nâmat-ul-lah Khân and Muzaffar Khân,[1] at Kandanûr, to deliver up that fort and

[1] More familiar to the reader under the name of 'Abd-ul-rahmân.

country to Munawar Khân, Himmat Bahâdûr Khân's younger brother, and join him at Hyderabad. As Muzaffar Khân has also written this to me, I think it must be true.

Sunday, July 16.[1]—I reported the news to the Governor as soon as he returned from church. He asked whether Muhammad 'Alî Khân was coming this way or only his younger brother. I replied that, according to the news, he had established Khair-ud-dîn Khân[2] and the English troops in the fort,[3] and pretended to the Mysoreans that he himself was remaining also while 'Abd-ul-wahâb departed alone. But in reality, he departed as well, and the same night was received by Mu'tabar Khân at Vâlikondai. He is now at Vriddhachalam on his way to Fort St. David with 2,000 horse, 4,000 guards, 400 Europeans, 60 dragoons, 18 guns, large and small, 7 elephants and 18 camels with his baggage. I also reported the Governor's sickness at Fort St. David.[4] He cannot even bear the sound of small birds, let alone a crow, will let none approach him, and has even stopped the evening gun. How then will he bear all Muhammad 'Alî Khân's

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[1] *5th Âdi, Ângîrasa.*

[2] His brother-in-law.

[3] *Sc.*, at Trichinopoly.

[4] The Deputy Governor was William Cockell, who had only come out this year. Ranga Pillai reports his death below.

retinue? The Governor observed that he had heard the same.

The captain of the Europe ship then came, and the Governor after some conversation said that he would do as he desired.

Thursday, July 20.[1]—300 of the soldiers who arrived recently from Europe, with 50 Topasses and 500 Tamil, Muhammadan, etc., sepoys, are being sent to Masulipatam by the *Hercule* which is bound for Bengal, together with powder, shot, a few guns and munitions of war. The ship will sail to-morrow and proceed to Bengal after landing the soldiers, Topasses, sepoys, powder, shot, etc., at Masulipatam.

Between seven and nine this morning we heard half-minute guns being fired on account of a death at Fort St. David. People who came yesterday from Fort St. David said that Mr. Cockell, the new Governor of Fort St. David, was sick and cold in body. All supposed that he must have died. The golla peons, who came from Fort St. David at twelve o'clock said that the Governor had died, but that his wife, who had been at the point of death, had recovered while he died.

I heard many guns at Fort St. David between seven and eight o'clock. I hear that they were fired at his burial.

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[1] *9th Âdi, Ângirasa.*

I hear that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's people have captured Tiruviti fort, when a French officer, ten Topasses and 300 or 400 Carnatic and Muhammadan men surrendered the fort and came in here. Rangô Pandit's men, the Europeans and Topasses who belonged to the French Company and who hoisted the white flag, and also the Topasses who were at Porto Novo have come in too. I hear that M. Bovet, the sergeant, is in the factory with ten peons.

Friday, July 21.[1]—I hear that, when Muhammad 'Alî Khân and 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân reached Tiruvêndipuram, they wrote to Mr. Saunders at Madras that his orders should be obeyed. Gôpâlanârâyanappa Ayyan's men are said to have tied *tôranams* in Villupuram and Tiruvâmâttûr.

Five or six days ago, Madanânda Pandit was directed to draw up a parwâna, granting to the French Company, on a berîz of 16 lakhs, the Carnatic countries—Chingleput, Gingee, Kalkurichi, Villupuram, Tiruvâmâttûr and the Panchmahals (Tiruviti, Bhuvanagiri, Tîrtanagari, Venkatâmpêttai and Porto Novo). Letters have been written to Salabat Jang desiring him to send it and to M. Bussy to get it done.[2] These are being sent by the *Hercule*,

[1] *10th Âdi, Ângîrasa.*

[2] All this has a great air of verisimilitude, but I do not remember its mention elsewhere; nor is Ranga Pillai's authority too direct in the present case.

which will touch at Bunder on her way to Bengal. The chief Christian[1] says Madanânda Pandit told him this. The Tamils, Europeans, etc., are troubled at their jaghir villages being included. We shall see what happens; God's purposes are unknown, and matters often fall out contrary to expectation.

Saturday, July 22.[2]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked if the report were true that Muhammad 'Alî Khân as well as 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân had reached Fort St. David. I replied that my man had told me so, that letters had been written to Mr. Saunders at Madras, and that his orders were expected. I then reported the news as usual and went to my office.

Sunday, July 23.[3]—The Governor sent for me this evening and asked if I believed the rumours of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's panic at Tiruvêndipuram, where he is with his younger brother. I replied, 'Yes.' He has three reasons for fearing he will lose his life. All say his head will fall in *Mârgali*; and what many say always comes to pass, within a month or two. First he is afraid of you. Secondly, he fears the Râjâ of Mysore, who helped him with 40 lakhs, but has been cheated of the

[1] *Sic.*

[2] *11th Âdi, Ângîrasa.*

[3] *12th Âdi, Ângîrasa.*

Trichinopoly fort and country which were promised. He fears they will capture the fort and country. Thirdly, he considers that the Mysoreans will not pay him a cash in future. He has spent all his money, and it will be six months before he can collect enough to pay his establishment, even if the troubles cease. So he knows not how he can pay the establishment, or what can be done in future. He knows that the English will take money, but never give any, and fears that they will betray him if he fails to pay the cost of their maintenance. These three causes of fear distract his mind, so that he knows not what to do.

He then asked if Mr. [Law]rence had really sailed for Madras yesterday in a sloop. I replied that I had heard so, and that Muhammad 'Alî Khân would follow either by road or ship, when the news of his arrival had been received. The Governor continued, 'If I had known of Lawrence's sailing, I would have ordered ships to seize his sloop; but though he has escaped this time, I will have him yet. They are frightened out of their lives by the letters I have written in the last seven or eight days to Lawrence at Fort St. David and the three or four letters I have written to Mr. Saunders, the Governor of Madras. That's why Mr. Lawrence has been summoned to Madras. They have done much

hastily; know not how to answer me; and stand abashed. But as you will see, their misconduct shall be made known.'[1] I said, 'They can never answer your letters properly, because in all things their conduct is ill-considered.' He talked of this for about an hour.

He then asked me if I knew any one at Madras who could report what happened there after Lawrence's arrival. I replied, 'A year and a half ago we[2] left off obtaining news. Moreover the place is strictly guarded. Unless something new is tried, news will take a month or 40 days to reach us. Some of our people are dead, and those who are still living may not consent at first. How can I tell whether a freshly sent man will be able to obtain confidential news about the purpose of Lawrence's going and the time of his return? But if I report something and then four days later news comes that it is false, you will be

[1] See the *French Correspondence* for 1752. If the present speech stood alone, one might believe that Dupleix was only talking to impress Ranga Pillai, and through him the inhabitants of Pondichery, with a belief in the final success of the French. But he really believed what he said, for he sent copies of his prodigious letter of February 18, 1752, to the Company, who forwarded one to the English Company. Its only effect (as they wrote to Holderness, January 10, 1753) was a belief that the troubles could not subside so long as Dupleix remained in India. His own letters thus furnished the basis of the demand for his recall.

[2] Probably the diarist refers to himself.

displeased.' He agreed and said, 'You must do your best, and we shall see.' I accordingly promised to send men to-morrow.

A letter has come from Chingleput, saying that Subbayyan, Vîramarâjâ's chief peon, had been captured. When he had read it, he turned to me and said, 'One Subbâ, one of Vîramarâjâ's marksmen, has been seized. Who is he?'—'I don't know,' I replied; 'among the men who formerly came here with Vîramarâjâ, were Kondurâjâ (his brother-in-law) and the Brâhman Venkatarâma Ayyan (his vakîl). I know them. This man may be one of his company.' The Governor said that he would have him fetched to Covelong, and thence here by sea. I observed, 'The Uttipâkkam hills and Vîramarâjâ's pâlaiyam lie between Chingleput and Covelong; so it might not be safe to do that. This should be thought of.' He agreed and said that he would order precautions to be taken.

M. d'Auteuil then came. The Governor asked me if I had congratulated him about the Cross of St. Louis which he had received this morning. I said I had already done so. 'Indeed,' he said. M. d'Auteuil confirmed my words. The Governor then said that please God I should get a medal. I replied that his favour was more precious to me than any medal or even the title of Chevalier.

He then said, 'To prevent Muhammad 'Alî Khân's paying his army, we must prevent him from collecting revenue in the country. If we send soldiers, sepoys and horsemen to create disturbances, the cultivators will not till the ground and no revenue can come in. I will create such disturbances that the country shall be ruined, and Muhammad 'Alî Khân collect nothing wherewith to pay the troops.' I replied, 'That will be well; and, as no crops can be cut till four months after sowing, how can he pay the men? He will be helpless. To do as you propose will be the beginning of success.' He then spoke of other matters. As it was about eight o'clock, I took leave of the Governor and went to my office.

I write below the Persian letter and the news-letter of Mahâ Râo, who is with Salabat Jang, dated at Hyderabad, the 27th Shâban,[1] received the night of the 11th Ramzan[2]:—After the usual salutation, he says, 'I am amazed to hear the news of Chandâ Sâhib. His enemies were only able to put an end to his life because his hour had come. What does the Nawâb Governor Sâhib think of this? And what of Muhammad 'Alî Khân? It is reported here that the Râjâ of Mysore has captured the fort of Trichinopoly, Ghâzi-ud-dîn

[1] July 10, 1752. [2] July 23.

Khân has left Shahjahanabad and marched ten stages this way. He will march to Aurangabad. Raghunâtha Râo (Bâlâji Râo's younger brother and Bhâji Râo's son) has gone to meet Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân. We shall see what happens.' The news-letter says :— 'Saiyid Lashkar Khân has been appointed chief minister[1] and given four jewels, a dress of honour, and a rich *sarpêch*. When Salabat Jang visited Saiyid Lashkar Khân, the latter presented him with a dress of honour, a sword, two horses and two elephants. Salabat Jang then went to M. Bussy's camp, where he stayed till nine o'clock, and then returned to his tents.'

Tuesday, July 25.[2]—When I had reported the news to the Governor this morning, he asked if Muhammad 'Alî Khân, 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân, etc., at Tiruviti were as terrified as they were said to be. I told him that the troops of 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân, Muhammad 'Alî Khân, etc., are so afraid that the Portuguese Volonté[3] encamped near Kûdapâkkam

[1] See above, p. 105.

[2] *14th Âdi, Angîrasa.*

[3] A well-known partisan, whose real name seems to have been Monis (*Réponse du sieur Dupleix à la lettre du sieur Godeheu*, p. 228). He was however more commonly called by his nom-de-guerre—*Kônap-parangi*, 'the hump-backed European.' He was in command of the Golden Rock in the action of September 21, 1753: and is found later in command of Utramallûr. After the truce in 1754, he seems to have taken service with Mysore, and was killed in 1756, defending Uskottai against the Nawâb of Cuddapah.

may fall on them at night, that they think themselves escaped from death each sunrise. He then went into his writing room. I went to my office.

M. Kerjean arrived at nine o'clock to-day by boat from Pulicat after a journey of 20 days. I met him as he was going to his house after visiting the Governor to report the news. He embraced me and said, 'You never wrote while we were at Golconda and Aurangabad.'[1] I replied suitably with compliments and he departed saying that he would return when he had shaved and dressed. He has come from Golconda by way of Masulipatam and Pulicat.

Thursday, July 27.[2]—When I had reported the news to the Governor this morning, he asked if there was anything else. I replied, 'Pariki Venkata Râo,[3] the Râjâ of Mysore's gumastah, has visited Muhammad 'Alî Khân with 200 or 300 sepoys and 50 horsemen, and returned to his camp.[4] The sepoys are troubling Muhammad 'Alî Khân for their pay, and the English do not wish to make him any advances; so his troops do not obey, and

[1] Kerjean had accompanied Bussy as Second in command.

[2] *16th Âdi, Ângirasa.*

[3] Called by Wilks and others, 'Birkee Venkatrow.'

[4] However Saunders conferred with him on August 2. *Military Consultations, 1752*, p. 29.

he bitterly regrets having come here from Trichinopoly.'—'Is that true?' he asked; 'I have heard so too.'

I then said, 'I hear that as Mr. Boddam[1] has become Governor of Fort St. David, Muhammad 'Alî Khân sent on the morning of Monday, the 24th, a jemadar with a dress of honour worth 100 rupees. He received it, ordered 11 guns to be fired, and presented the jemadar with four yards of broadcloth.' He asked if this was true. I said it was. There is nothing else to write.

Sunday, July 30.[2]—The Europeans say that Monsieur Dupleix, General of Pondichery, wrote to the Company charging M. de La Bourdonnais with taking bribes and misappropriating large sums of money when he captured Madras from the English; the Company advised the ministers to imprison him which was done: but M. de La Bourdonnais then got a history of his life written from his birth at St. Malo in 1709[3] down to the capture of

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[1] Charles Boddam, at this time Export Warehouse Keeper at Fort St. David, and who acted as Deputy Governor until the arrival of Starke (see below). Son of Charles Boddam and Mary Hart, who were married at Fort St. George in 1716. He married Frances Morse in 1754, and went home in 1758.

[2] *19th Âdi, Ângîrasa.*

[3] *Sic*, the date should be *1699*.

Madras and his imprisonment. This was printed, so that it might be read by all in the coffee-houses at Paris, the French capital.[1] When he thus caused his case to be made known in France, the King learnt of this and ordered the Marshals of France and about a dozen others of equal rank of the Royal family and others, to examine his affair and settle it at the Council. The case has been decided for M. de La Bourdonnais, and an order given accordingly; and he has demanded from the Company 20 lakhs of rupees to be divided between him and the officers and ships' captains for the capture of Madras. The Company are promising to pay, and the King is so pleased with him that he has resolved to give him a great place. The younger brother of a French *Compte* (I do not know the name) who took M. de La Bourdonnais' side, took him from the prison in his own coach when the case was over, and escorted him to his own house, where he was entertained grandly. A

[1] Oddly enough the mémoire published on behalf of La Bourdonnais, which was very instrumental in defeating Dupleix' attacks upon him, was composed by the same advocate, M. de Gennes, who was later on to draw similar documents for Dupleix. La Bourdonnais succeeded in interesting Mme. de Pompadour in his fate (see *Correspondance de Mme. de Pompadour*, p. 5, letter to her father, ascribed to the year 1745, but it evidently should be dated much later).

printed account of this has been sent to the Governor and others by the *Machault*.[1]

The Europe ship, *La Reine* sailed for Bengal to-night with six lakhs of rupees; her captain is M. de La Rivière.

[1] La Bourdonnais was imprisoned in the Bastille on March 2, 1748; he was allowed to consult Counsel, May 5, 1750, who submitted the memoir in his favour in the following August, and he was released early in 1751. He then claimed considerable sums from the Company, as his share of the prizes taken by his squadron in 1746 and of the Madras ransom; but the Company refused to pay more on these accounts than 100 crowns a month for the period of his commanding the squadron. He died apparently on November 10, 1753, not September 9, as has commonly been supposed; and his latest biographer, M. Herpin, enthusiastic supporter of La Bourdonnais as he is, admits that his hero seems to have had the address to keep back considerable sums when his estate was sequestrated in 1748. This makes strongly in favour of the story, that his wife, who had travelled home separately by way of Lisbon, had been entrusted with the safe-keeping of a large part of his estate. But he had had probably to employ much of this in interesting the Pompadour and others in his cause. For his will, etc., see Herpin, *La Bourdonnais*, pp. 252, etc.

AUGUST 1752.

Wednesday, August 2.[1]—When I had reported the news to the Governor this morning, he asked if I had heard of the retirement of the English from Arcot, Timirikottai, Conjeeveram, etc. I replied, 'Two divisions of the army have marched to Madras with their guns and baggage. The rest with some guns are still out, causing trouble, and I have only heard rumours of their retirement. Everywhere people say that the English are withdrawing, perhaps because there has been a difference between them and Muhammad 'Alî Khân, about his refusal to give the Trichinopoly country and Fort to the Râjâ of Mysore, who helped him with 30 lakhs of rupees for his expenses. He has no money and may have asked the English. They may have replied that, in spite of the Company's orders not to fight or interfere with the country powers, they nevertheless helped him with the powder, shot, soldiers and munitions that he needed, and secured his success, but that they cannot find the money he wants and must recall their men from the out-garrisons, as otherwise they will have to pay them. If money were lent him, it could not be entered in the Company's accounts, in case he failed to repay it, and then Mr. Saunders would have

[1] 22nd Âdi, Angîrasa.

to pay it himself ; and he is not certain of continuing as Governor for another year. Their men have probably been ordered to retire for these reasons.[1] Others say that they have been alarmed by your letter and fear that, as you have received many men and ships, you may take Madras as was done formerly. You know the truth.' He went in after some reflection, and I went to my office.

Afterwards I remained at home as I was unwell.

Saturday, August 5.[2]—I had heard before that Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English wanted to take Gingee[3] ; but to-day certain news came that their army was advancing against it. So 300 European soldiers, 100 Topasses and 600 sepoys and fire-lock people, marched to-day under the newly arrived officers, commanded by M. de Kerjean, towards Gingee, and reached Valudâvûr fort, with four great guns, shot, powder, etc. M. Kerjean will set out to-morrow.

[1] Most of this only goes to show how ill-informed were the French of English affairs. In the year (ending April 30) 1751–52, the English Company had advanced 88,000 pagodas more than it had received from Muhammad 'Alî ; and in 1752–53 it advanced a further sum of 371,000 pagodas. At the same time, it should be added that, at first at all events, this had been done most reluctantly.

[2] *25th Âdi, Ângîrasa.*

[3] Lawrence was absolutely opposed to this plan, and declared that it would fail ; but Saunders (contrary to his usual good sense) persisted in it.—' He laughed at my fears and remonstrances, and for a final answer in short said he had ordered the party and it must go' (Lawrence's Journal, *ap. Orme MSS. Various* 13 ff. 35–36).

I hear the soldiers, etc., will march against Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Gingee as soon as M. Kerjean reaches Valudâvûr fort to-morrow.

Sunday, August 6.[1]—Foot-messengers sent for news have returned and say that Muhammad 'Alî Khân, with his own troops and the English were camped on the Nari river near Gingee. When a few approached the fortifications, our French army and the killedar's people fired their guns and cannon at close range, on which they retreated to the main body by the Nari river with the loss of about 10 killed and 20 wounded.[2]

I also hear that yesterday Kônapparaugi[3] drove away the Villupuram guards, and posted his own people at the Fort there, and then he advanced to Rettai Âlagrâmam.

Monday, August 7.[4]—When I went to the Governor at nine o'clock this morning, he was walking up and down after his coffee. I salaamed. He asked what was the matter with me. I told him that I had been costive and feverish, but by his favour had recovered. He

[1] *26th Âdi, Angirasa.*

[2] There was no attack; but Kinneer, who commanded the English, thoroughly reconnoitred the place, and concluded that he could not reduce it without a large force and a prolonged siege. In the event the English did not take it until after the fall of Pondichery in 1761. *Military Consultations, 1752*, p. 28.

[3] See above, p. 150, n. 3.

[4] *27th Âdi, Angirasa.*

then said that he had heard that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had been beaten by our people near Gingee and that he had fled. 'What else could have been expected?' I asked. 'Everyone said that, when he marched against Gingee, he would be beaten and put to flight.' He said, 'The English must abandon him. They never do anything but run away.' After answering him, I went to my office and stayed there till noon, when I took my bath, in token of having recovered my health.

At five o'clock, the Governor told me he had received a letter from M. de Kerjean at Gingee, relating how he had deceived the English by a stratagem. 'How, sir?' I asked: 'pray tell me.' He said, 'I wrote to the Europeans in the Tiruviti and Villupuram forts not to attack the English, if they appeared, but to hoist the white flag, draw up a list of the cannon, guns, shot and powder, etc., and offer them to the English commander: if he accepted them and was willing to let our people march away, they were to remove the flag, and deliver up the forts. Accordingly Tiruviti and Villupuram were surrendered without fighting.[1] The English then approached Gingee expecting that also to be surrendered without resistance. Our people kept quiet till the English with a few

[1] Cf. *Military Consultations*, 1752, p. 28.

of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's men came like asses with their flag up to the fort gate. Then they fired all their cannon and guns off together. Some lost their legs, others their hands and others their heads. So their army was scattered and, abandoning their baggage, fled to Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp.' [1] When he learnt of the advance of the army from Pondichery and La Volonté's encamping in his rear, he fled with his own and the English armies to Tiruvannâmalai by way of Tumbûr.[2] M. Kerjean and M. La Volonté have written announcing this.' He then ordered me to tell the Company's merchants to send peons to take care that the Udaiyârpâlaiyam and Chidambaram cloth was not seized on its way here. I therefore went to my office and repeated these orders to the Company's merchants who had come there. They agreed and departed.

He sent for me again at half-past six and repeated the news.

He sent for me a third time at eight o'clock and said the same over again. This was because of his joy at the enemy's defeat and flight. He was much elated with joy.

Wednesday, August 9.[3]—I hear the following news :—On Monday, the day before yesterday,

[1] A great exaggeration. Cf. p. 157, n. 2, *supra*.
[2] In the Villupuram taluk.
[3] *29th Âdi, Angîrasa*.

the French army at Gingee attacked Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English army, encamped at Sakkirâpuram with 1,000 foot, a cannon and two field-pieces ; five of the enemy were killed and a few wounded. On this they retreated and fled several ways to Tumbûr, abandoning their entrenchments. M. Kerjean (who was encamped near Vikravândi) and Kônapparangi learnt this yesterday. They sent 40 horsemen to find out how many Muhammad 'Alî Khân had. On sighting them Muhammad 'Alî Khân's people set fire to a village. M. Kerjean, Kônapparangi, etc., made ready, and to-day fell upon Muhammad 'Alî Khân's and the English armies. They fought from eight till noon.

Major [Kinneer[1]], the English commandant, was wounded in the thigh, and one or two officers with 60 or 70 English soldiers were killed. An equal number was wounded. Many Muhammadan and Carnatic sepoys were wounded or killed. They fled in all directions.[2]

[1] The name is spelt in the Madras transcript *Tanibêr*, probably a copyist's error for *Kanibêr*.

[2] This is the action called by Orme the battle of Vikravândi (See *History*, Vol. I, p. 254). Orme's dates are of course Old Style. Cf. *Military Consultations, 1752, loc. cit.* It should be noted that Kinneer attacked the French, not *vice versa* as the diarist says. The English Council observe. 'Although this undertaking has not been attended with all the success that could be wished, yet the Board are of opinion that the measures that have been pursued were very proper.' Although Lawrence was present, he did not sign the consultation.

I received this news at four o'clock this evening and went at once to report it to the Governor. On my way, I met a peon who said that the Governor wanted me at the Fort. So I went there and reported the camp news. He did not believe me and doubted if such a thing could have happened, though he told me that M. Le Verrier had written from Valudâvûr that he had heard the sound of heavy firing from the west. I assured him that he would receive news presently. On the moment a letter from M. Kerjean arrived from the camp, with the news I had just related. The Governor was overjoyed, and said that my words were true. He ordered me to send for the master-gunner to fire a salute of 21 guns.

He then said, 'Madame has gone to M. Vincens'. Go and offer her your congratulations.' So I gave a nazar of five pagodas to the Governor, told the master-gunner to fire a salute of 21 guns according to the Governor's orders, then went to M. Vincens' house to report the happy news, as written above, and offer my congratulations. In her joy she declared that God would soon bless us with Muhammad 'Alî Khân's head. She then went to meet the Governor.

As soon as he heard the news, Chandâ Sâhib's son, Razâ Sâhib, went to offer his

congratulations to the Governor with a nazar of 21 pagodas: 'Alî Naqî Sâhib gave a nazar of 11 pagodas and Mîr A'azam 7 pagodas. The other Muhammadans also gave presents. The Company's new merchants and Pâpayya Pillai presented nazars of 21 pagodas each.

After all had offered their nazars, the Governor called me and said, 'We were betrayed when we sent the Englishman M. Law as commander to Trichinopoly; now that a Frenchman is sent with a small army, he has won great glory. That is what Frenchmen are.[1] Tell every one of this.' Accordingly I did so.

Thursday, August 10.[2]—When I had reported the news to the Governor this morning, he asked if I had heard more about the affair of yesterday. I said that no fresh news had come, but that people gave more details. Two peons then brought a letter from M. Kerjean. After reading it, he said to the Europeans, etc., present, 'He says, "About 70 or 80 English corpses have been buried. Of the Tamils and Muhammadans, the number is not known. A 24-pounder burst at a lucky moment"'. After reading the details of the fight and the enemy's retreat, he said that we had lost one officer and

[1] Law was of Scotch extraction. But if Dupleix could have looked ahead but a month, to Kerjean's complete overthrow at Bâhûr, he would perhaps have refrained from this unfortunate remark.

[2] *30th Âdi, Ângîrasa.*

some soldiers and sepoys. Then they all conversed in great joy. Presently he asked me if Mr. Lawrence was at Madras or Fort St. David. I said he was at Madras. 'Nevertheless,' he said, 'send people to find out.' I said I would do so and took leave.

The Governor sent for me this evening and asked [the news]. I said there was some. 'What is it?' he asked. I replied, 'At nine o'clock this morning, Mr. Kinneer, the commander of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops, who was wounded in the thigh, and Monichan[1], who was slightly wounded in the shoulder and severely in the leg, reached Fort St. David in palankins. They visited Mr. Boddam, the Governor, and then went to the hospital to have their wounds dressed. Forty or fifty wounded men also arrived, escorted by a few soldiers and sepoys. When Mr. Kinneer visited the Governor in spite of his wounds, 21 guns were fired to make people think a victory had been won. A Europe ship arrived with 50 soldiers and sailed for Madras next day. A new Governor is to be appointed at Madras. Muhammad 'Alî Khân's beaten army is returning to Tiruviti whither Muhammad 'Alî Khân is also going. He is now halting at Tirubhâskharanallûr, on the banks of the

[1] Conjectural. Ranga Pillai writes *Inichchan.* Henry Monichan was an ensign of 1751; he became Lieutenant in 1752, and was killed in the following year.

Pennâr, about 6 miles from Tiruviti and Villupuram. Mr. Starke[1] is expected to arrive to-day from Madras as Governor of Fort St. David. Mr. Tom Cooke[2] and Mr. Drake[3] are at Marikrishnâpuram. Seeing our white flag flying there, they asked why it was allowed to fly in the Muhammadan country. They were told that those places had been given in jaghir to the French; but nevertheless they ordered it to be removed. Our people refused, but said that the others might do so if they liked. The English then removed it. But about ten o'clock, our people were sent for, told that the English had only been joking, and ordered to hoist it again. Our people hoisted it accordingly.' When I reported this, the Governor said that it was all true and he had received the same news. He added, 'Mr. Saunders at Madras does

[1] Richard Starke, son, I believe, of John Starke and Martha Empson, who were married at Fort St. George in 1713. He continued Deputy Governor of Fort St. David until 1756, when he resigned on account of his supersession by Clive. He went home in the following year, accompanied by his brother, John, also in the Company's service.

[2] The son of a Company's servant of the same name, who died at Cuddalore in 1738. He was of Council at Fort St. David, and later on had a lively dispute about going to camp without special allowances for the danger he would incur.

[3] Dawsonne Drake, son of George Drake and Sophia Bugden, who were married at Madras in 1722. He died at Madras in 1781. His principal achievement was going as chief civil servant with Draper's Manilla Expedition; and he is said to have grievously misconducted himself as temporary Governor of Manilla. The full story will, I suppose, be related in Mr. Morse Stephens' book on that episode, now under preparation.

not seem to know the customs of Europeans, for he has imprisoned the soldiers from Trichinopoly at Fort St. David, and is preparing to attack us on account of Divi island to the northward. For all this they will send a rope from Europe to hang him with.' I replied, 'True, they are grievously punished who disobey their King's orders; he will be hewn into pieces.'—'You are right,' he said. 'This is no trifle.' I then took leave and came away.

I met the Nayinâr's peon who said, 'Mr. Starke, the new Governor of Fort St. David, and another European (whose name I do not know), Venkataswâmi (Mr. Starke's dubâsh) and his son (Peddu Nâyakkan) with 50 matchlockmen and sepoys have just passed within our Bound-hedge with a hundred coolies carrying their goods. They must now be opposite the Valudâvûr gate.' I went to the Governor and told him the foregoing. 'Well, let him go,' he said. I took leave and went to my office.

Sunday, August 13.[1]—As soon as the Governor returned from mass, I went and reported the news. He asked if there was anything else. I replied, 'When Muhammad 'Alî Khân and 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân reached Tiruviti, yesterday, the English—Europeans, Topasses, sepoys,

[1] *1st Âvani, Angirasa.*

etc.—departed to Fort St. David with their guns and other munitions of war. Thereupon a dispute arose between Muhammad 'Alî Khân and 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân. The latter said angrily, "I told you to surrender Trichinopoly, and depart with our families and money to Ellore and Rajahmundry, and govern those subahs, but you would not listen to me. The Râjâ of Mysore according to his promise helped us with 40 lakhs of rupees, wherewith to overcome the enemy; I advised you that you should not desert him but keep your word. Again you did not hear me and have made an enemy of him. Here again, I advised you to go to Madras, discuss your affairs, and then march to Arcot; but a third time you have not listened to me; against my wish you marched upon Gingee and have returned with defeat. Therefore the English have now refused you money for your expenses. You have never taken my advice. You are a fool. Why should we be ruined by you?" Thus in anger he marched away by Tiruvannâmalai.' The Governor asked how many had followed him. I said, '100 poor horse and two or three hundred matchlock-people.'

He then asked if there was any other news. I replied, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân's people are quitting him, for they are dying of starvation. With his promises and oaths, he persuaded

Chandâ Sâhib to go to him, and then, having kept him for four days, cut off his head[1]. He will surely pay for this not only by losing his rank, but by losing his life as well. I have said before and I repeat it now, that, in a month's time, his head will be cut off.' I said this with emphasis and added, 'As a warning, God punishes even the greatest kings who betray others or compass their death or ruin. Therefore Muhammad'Alî Khân will surely lose his life.' After speaking of other matters, I went to my office.

The Governor questioned me about the road to Valudâvûr and Tiruviti, and noted it down. I think he then wrote to M. Kerjean, the commander of the troops at Valudâvûr, to fall by night upon Muhammad 'Alî Khân, who is encamped at Tiruviti.

The Governor sent for me this evening and asked the news. I said, 'I hear that, as Mr. Starke has arrived as Governor of Fort St. David, his predecessor, Mr. Boddam, has sailed for Madras on a Europe ship. Mr. Starke has informed Muhammad 'Alî Khân that a strict order has come from Europe not to interfere with the French and that an account of the Europeans that have been killed must be sent to England, and so he could do nothing for the

[1] A curiously inaccurate statement.

Nawâb who must write to Mr. Saunders. So Muhammad 'Alî Khân is plunged in a sea of grief.' The Governor said, 'He is a senseless mule. Formerly he disregarded my words. What is the use of grieving at his desertion by the English? His only chance of prosperity lies in listening to me.' I replied, 'If he prostrates himself before you, you may save him; otherwise he will be killed like Chandâ Sâhib.' I talked thus for about an hour and then went to my office.

Chandra Râo and Anantâji Pandit, who were seized on the day on which Muhammad 'Alî Khân's army retreated, were to-night brought before the Governor. I am told that they are to be imprisoned in Periyanna Nayinâr's house. As the Governor has heard that Chandra Râo made lakhs of rupees when he served Mîr Ghulâm Husain in Tinnevelly, he hopes to get two or three lakhs of rupees out of him. His fortune remains to be seen.

Tuesday, August 15.[1]—The Governor, after going to church in honour of the feast,[2] went to visit M. Vincens who is seriously ill. I afterwards went and reported the news. He asked if there was any news about Muhammad 'Alî Khân. I replied, 'I hear that Muhammad 'Alî Khân has written to Mr. Saunders at Madras,

[1] *3rd Âvani, Ângirasa.*
[2] The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

and is anxiously expecting his reply. Moreover he is troubled at having no money to pay his horsemen and sepoys, who are indescribably troublesome. As he has no money for his men, it is said that he will either fly or be killed by one of the sepoys.' I talked with him about this in detail, and then went to my office.

Thursday, August 17.[1]—After I had reported the news to the Governor this morning, he asked if there was anything else. I replied, 'There were 25 Carnatic people in the Villupuram fort. Our people have seized them and the fort, and sent the former here.' They were then summoned, proved to be washermen, barbers and ryots. The Governor asked me what should be done. I replied, 'What can such dogs do? If they are released, they will say that the Mahârâjâ was pleased to let them go and depart blessing you.' Four who were thought to be spies, and the Brâhman manager of the place, were ordered to be kept in prison, and the rest were released. Then I went to my office.

'Alî Khân joined Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Trichinopoly when Chandâ Sâhib was delivered up by M. Law, was refused his weapons, but allowed to stay, though he got no post, but

[1] *5th Âvani, Angirasa.*

only four annas a day batta. Perceiving that he was not trusted, that no weapons were given him, and that he was not allowed to take part in any fight, he wrote to M. d'Auteuil. Having received a cowle from the Governor, he came in here from Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp.

Saturday, August 19.[1]—I hear to-day that, after some negotiations between the Governor and Muhammad 'Alî Khân by means of Muhammad Tavakkal, two nobles, Muhammad Masîh Khân and Husain Muhammad Khân, a Navâit, are to confer with the Governor, and that the Governor has sent them a cowle to come here without fear.[2]

Sunday, August 20.[3]—I hear that M. Law who has been in prison at the Fort, was released to-day. But he is to be under surveillance till he sails for Europe. He is therefore not going abroad.

The Nayinâr's son sent word this evening that the English people with their officers, who yesterday evening were on their way from Âlambarai, Mr. Clive,[4] and Sampâti Râo in a number of masula-boats were passing the

[1] *7th Âvani, Angîrasa.*

[2] This negotiation seems to have been begun with English approval. See Saunders' letter to Dupleix of August 6, 1752 (*French Correspondence, 1752*, p. 71).

[3] *8th Âvani, Angîrasa.*

[4] See above, p. 120, n. 2.

Kûnimêdu roads. I went at once and informed the Governor who said, 'You told me yesterday that Sampâti Râo and Mr. Clive were not coming.' I replied, 'I only repeated what the people from Madras said. But Sampâti Râo will not travel like this. He is a cautious man; after the death of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, he obtained his formal discharge and has kept quiet, without desiring to take any part in business. This has displeased Muhammad 'Alî Khân and Mahfuz Khân. Nâsîr Jang came here, and gave Muhammad 'Alî Khân the title of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân Bahâdûr: but at the time of Nâsîr Jang's defeat and flight at Tiruviti in his attempt to secure the subah of Arcot, Sampâti Râo said that he would not interfere in business as he could not agree with Muhammad 'Alî Khân; and you know that he has done nothing. Were he to change his plan now, it would only be by the influence of some unlucky star. Did he set out when the dispute between Mr. Clive and Mr. Lawrence had been decided in Council?[1] But Mr. Clive may be coming. Sampâti Râo is sickly, and is always suffering from a stricture. So his coming is unlikely.' So saying, I went to my office.

[1] I do not know what this refers to, and recollect no dispute between Clive and Lawrence. The most probable explanation seems to be that Clive's name is written by a slip for that of Saunders.

At eight o'clock to-night, the Governor sent for me and said that he had ordered the captain of the *Anson* to seize all the English masula-boats, and that they would arrive to-morrow afternoon.[1]

I then went aside. But he sent for me again and said that as two vakîls of Muhammad 'Alî Khân, son of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, would arrive to-morrow morning, lodgings must be arranged for them, and that I and Muhammad Tavakkal were to go and receive them, conduct them to their quarters, and then report their arrival, after which he would appoint a time to receive them. I agreed and departed.

Muhammad Tavakkal then came and after salutations said, 'I told the Governor that two nobles from Muhammad 'Alî Khân (Muhammad Masîh Khân and Husain Muhammad Khân) would arrive to-morrow morning. He said he would give you orders about them. Has he done so?'—'Yes,' I replied, 'we are to meet them to-morrow morning. I shall engage Prakâsa Mudali's house opposite to Kanakarâya Mudali's.' I then sent for Râman, and having told him to get the house ready and deliver it to Muhammad Tavakkal, came home.

[1] Probably Dupleix' motive for this piece of piracy was his desire to secure the person of Clive, in order to obtain the release of the troops who had surrendered at Trichinopoly.

Monday, August 21.[1]—On account of M. Vincens' funeral,[2] the Governor and others went to the church this morning.

I and Muhammad Tavakkal went out as far as the salt water creek, this side of my garden, to receive Husain Muhammad Khân and Muhammad Masîh Khân, Muhammad 'Alî Khân's two vakîls mentioned yesterday, who have come to propose peace. We left them at the quarters appointed for them, and reported this to the Governor. He asked whether they had brought many people with them. I replied, 'The vakîls came in palankins. They have, besides these, 2 chargers, a jemadar and 10 troopers, with 20 Carnatic musketeers, and pikemen, swordsmen and servants. Their goods loaded two camels. All these are at their lodgings. They desire me to pay you suitable compliments from Muhammad 'Alî Khân and themselves, and say that they have come according to your cowle and orders, with instructions from Muhammad 'Alî Khân to learn your wishes, and that they will visit you when desired and act as you please.'—'Is that all?' he asked, and when I said, 'Yes,'—'Did you not ask them any questions?' he

[1] *9th Âvani, Ângîrasa.*

[2] This was Jean-Baptiste Vincens, born in 1724, the third son of Mme. Dupleix by her first husband. He was buried on the 16th. He had recently returned from serving under Bussy in the Deccan. See p. 91 *supra*.

demanded. 'You did not tell me to, so I did not,' I replied. 'What aged men are they?' he asked. I replied. 'Muhammad Masîh Khân looks about 80 and Husain Muhammad Khân 65.' He said, 'They have imprisoned our soldiers, Hasan-ud-dîn Khân and others. Have they brought them or not?' I replied, 'They have come alone without our people.' The Governor continued, 'Why have they come then? Unless [our people] are released, I won't see them. Send them away.' I answered, 'I would not do that at once. I will send for them this evening, and talk to them. You need not say anything.'—'Very well,' he said, 'but don't let them bring daggers, swords or knives, or they will have to be searched.' Muhammad Tavakkal said, 'I will tell them and see that they do not bring even a switch.'—'All right,' the Governor said; 'you may go.' So we took leave and came away. Muhammad Tavakkal said, 'I will see Madame first, and then visit them.' He then took leave and departed. I came home.

At about one o'clock this afternoon, one of the tappal-peons engaged yesterday came and said that our ship had seized 11 masula-boats and a sloop with Englishmen on board, and that the Europeans in the masula-boats had been taken on board the ship, the boats fastened

to her, and two guns fired.[1] A peon then told me that the Governor wanted me as he had seen from the top of the *Gouvernement* the ship hoisting her sails and supposed from the signal-guns that the men had been seized. So I went to the Fort, where I found the Governor. He said joyfully, 'All the Englishmen have been seized. As the sloop is flying the Dutch flag, she cannot belong to the English, but the masula-boats are theirs.' I replied, 'What was ever heard of which you cannot accomplish if you try?' M. Barthélemy and M. d'Auteuil were with the Governor.

M. Lesquelen, the captain of the Europe ship, then came. After talking with him, the Governor went home and I went to my office.

This afternoon the Governor and Madame ordered the peons and the European sergeants posted at the gate not to admit any one without searching them to see that they had no sword, dagger, knife or other weapon, and especially to examine Muhammad 'Alî Khân's vakîls, Husain Muhammad Khân and Muhammad Masîh Khân, and their followers. Pâpayya Pillai had got his horses, etc., ready,

[1] The prisoners consisted of a company of Swiss troops, being sent from Madras to Fort St. David. Their seizure led to the usual protestations, etc., on either side. It was however generally felt that in seizing men at sea, when not actually engaged in military operations, Dupleix had overstepped even the elastic limits of international law in the 18th century.

in the hope that the Governor would have told him to go and receive the vakîls. He only heard of their arriving at ten o'clock, when he visited the Governor's house this evening. He then sent away his horses, elephants, etc., and tried to enter wearing his daggers. But the sergeant at the gate ordered Pâpayya Pillai and his son to leave them behind. They hesitated at this, but were given two or three blows with the butt of a musket by which the son was knocked down, so they and their Muhammadan followers gave up their knives and daggers at once. Their turbans and pockets were also examined lest small knives should be hidden there; and then only they were admitted.

I hear that at half-past six this evening, Muhammad Tavakkal took Muhammad 'Alî Khân's vakîls to visit Madame Dupleix. She presented them with two shawls, and, after talking with them a little while, dismissed them with *pân supârî* and rose water, telling them that she would tell the Governor what they said, and arrange for their visiting him to-morrow. When they left, the sergeant searched them to see if they had any swords or daggers.

I also hear that the French troops that were encamped at Valudâvûr under

M. de Kerjean have marched and camped at Marudûr intending to move towards Tiruviti.

Tuesday, August 22.[1]—Four English officers,[2] a bombardier, and head-surgeon, six persons in all, who were captured yesterday, to-day were brought ashore to the Governor's house. One of the officers who is sick was sent to the Hospital; the other five were well received by the Governor. One who speaks French talked with the Governor and they were given palankins and sent to M. d'Auteuil's.

The Governor then sent for me and said, 'The Nayinâr's peons reported that 200 or 300 soldiers were on their way, with Sampâti Râo and Mr. Clive; but they were wrong. The sloop is Dutch and is carrying stone from Sadras to Negapatam. The hold was searched but no one was found. There were on her 80 soldiers, 4 officers, a bombardier, and the head-surgeon, 86 in all, bound for Fort St. David. The officers have shown me the letter. Sampâti Râo and Mr. Clive did not come at all. That was only a lie. They will take service with us if we please. Two of the officers are Swiss who were sent out with 600 men by the Company by permission of the King of

[1] *10th Âvani, Angirasa.*

[2] One of these was Captain Schaub, who commanded the company now taken. I cannot identify the rest. Dupleix' letter announcing the circumstance occurs in *French Correspondence, 1752*, p. 73.

England. The dispute between Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Clive has been settled and they will not be coming.'

He then asked what people were saying at Fort St. David. 'How can I tell?' I said; 'they will only hear yesterday's news to-day; and we shall know nothing here until it has been discussed by the merchants and dubâshes there. Then the talk will spread outside. It cannot be known yet.'

Muhammad Tavakkal then came, and, after salaaming, went to Madame's room. The Governor also went there: so I went to my office.

At eleven, Muhammad Tavakkal accompanied Muhammad Masîh Khân and Husain Muhammad Khân, Muhammad 'Alî Khân's agents, to the Governor's gate. But a chobdar came and said that the Governor was at table and had ordered them to be brought at seven to-night. The Governor permitted them to be taken to see the sea-wall battery and the Fort. So they went to the Beach and saw the English[1] soldiers who have been seized. Then they were shown places in the sea-wall where the 24-pounders and mortars are mounted, as well as the new *Gouvernement* in the Fort. They then visited and [condoled

[1] *Sc.* Swiss.

with ?] Chandâ Sâhib's son on his father's death, and then went to their lodgings.

At nine o'clock to-night, I heard that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's agents had visited the Governor, conversed with him about their business, and then took leave and went to their lodgings, with passes for the Valudâvûr gate for their departure to-morrow morning.

When I asked what terms they wanted and why they were going, I was told that the Governor had refused to talk of peace until Hasan-ud-dîn Khân and the other prisoners had been released; that therefore they would inform Muhammad 'Alî Khân what the Governor had said, and that they had taken leave, saying that they would return if Muhammad 'Alî Khân accepted the terms.

The 80 English soldiers have been brought ashore to the Fort.

The following happened to-day:—When the harkara was coming here with my letter from Thûpakkundai Sâmbayyan whom I sent to Arcot by the Honourable Governor's order, the Nayinâr's peons at the mettu seized the letter this afternoon and gave it to the Nayinâr, who gave it to Pâpayya Pillai. The latter opened and read it. I write below its contents as they are reported :—'To Mahârâja Râja Srî [Pillai] Avargal with Sâmbayyan's blessing. There are 40 foot and 10 gunners in the fort of

Arcot. When Mannat-ul-lah was here, he used to send help to various places; but now he has gone to camp. 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân and Mannat-ul-lah have reached Kalasapâkkam. The palace and Râyaji's houses are being made ready for those who are coming. Four days ago Muhammad 'Alî wrote directing rice, etc., with powder and shot to be sent to camp; but yesterday he countermanded this. Muhammad 'Alî and Bhujanga Râo, it is said, intend to take Gingee before proceeding here. This is the news.' This letter was written in Telugu, and further desired orders to be sent.

Wednesday, August 23.[1]—I hear that a chobdar has delivered to the Governor a letter from Mr. Starke, the Governor of Fort St. David, about the seizure of the English.

Thursday, August 24.[2]—The gumastahs of Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji, Gôvardhana Dâs and Vallabhu Sundara Dâs, are said to have received the following news from Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân's and Salabat Jang's camps:—Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân has crossed the Narbadâ with 60,000 horse and reached Burhanpur, with Bhâji Râo's gumastah, Mulhari Râo Holkar and the Maratha sardârs. He will either winter at Aurangabad which is eight days' journey from

[1] *11th Âvani, Ângîrasa.*
[2] *12th Âvani, Ângîrasa.*

Burhanpur, or march to Hyderabad. It is not certain which he will do. After crossing the Narbadâ he sent the Pâdshâh's parwânas to the several killedars, mansabdars, jaghirdars, jemadars, poligars, etc., who dwell in the Deccan under the Pâdshâh's umbrella, ordering them to obey Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân instead of Salabat Jang, declaring the latter to be deposed for his treachery, and ordering him to be delivered up or put to death. Moreover parwânas have also been sent to people with Salabat Jang. But the jemadars, mansabdars, etc., both Muhammadan and Maratha, are making excuses. Saiyid Lashkar Khân and other nobles advised Salabat Jang not to quarrel with his elder brother, saying that he who ate the Pâdshâh's salt, and then took up arms against him, displeased both God and man.[1] But Salabat Jang did not agree with Saiyid Lashkar Khân, relying on the support of the Europeans. The Saiyid, who remembered the troubles that befell Nâsîr Jang from not taking his advice, resolved to join Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân and has gone to Aurangabad. Certain mansabdars and jaghirdars have done the same. Salabat Jang is now much troubled. Nizâm 'Alî Khân also fears and may either join his eldest brother or await his

[1] Cf. Grant Duff *History of the Marathas* (ed. 1912), Vol. II, pp. 60–61.

arrival.' Besides this I hear that the Governor has been asked for help.[1]

Salabat Jang is said to have encamped with all his troops and guns ready to march.

This evening Père Antoine who has been appointed Bishop but has not yet been consecrated,[2] passed me on his way home, when I was sitting by the lane near the Manakkulam,[3] and, stopping his palankin, called me and said, 'M. Dupleix tells me that the last ships brought news to Madras that the King of Portugal has complained of Mr. Boscawen's seizing me at Mylapore, pulling down the Portuguese flag, and hoisting English colours and demanded that the latter should be removed and the place given back to the Portuguese. So the King of England has ordered the Company to deliver Mylapore to me on my return, and the English Company has written accordingly to the Governor of Madras and the Council. When the order came, the English flag was pulled down and the English guns and soldiers were withdrawn. M. Dupleix

[1] Matters seemed so desperate that Bussy even asked orders from Pondichery whether or not to continue his support of Salabat Jang. See *Mémoire pour le sieur de Bussy* (1764), pp. 18-19; also a remarkable letter from Dupleix, advising Bussy to retreat with Salabat Jang (if necessary) to Masulipatam rather than to Pondichery, *ap.* Hamont, *Dupleix*, pp. 227, etc.

[2] Antonio Noronha. See above Vol. IV, p. 411 and Vol. VI, p. 307.

[3] Presumably the tank attached to the Manakkulam Pillaiyâr Temple.

tells me that orders have been received by the Bishop and other Portuguese there; and he told me to be ready to set out thither. What news could be better[1] than this?' I congratulated him, saying that it must be true as it came from the Senhor Grande, and begged him not to forget me. I then took my leave and went to the office.

Many guns were fired by the Fort and the ships this evening as to-morrow is the King's name-day.

Tuesday, August 29.[2]—When Muhammad 'Alî Khân heard that our men had marched at ten o'clock last night from Bâhûr to Marudûr, he at once occupied Bâhûr, plundered it and burnt a few houses. Refugees say that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's Maratha horse are plundering the country. All the Villiyanallûr people have fled to Pondichery, some abandoning everything and others bringing what they could. Ranga Pillai (son of Ânaiya Pillai), the amaldâr of the place, is said to have sent here his wife, etc., with the Company's money and the account rolls, and himself has reached Olukarai with ten peons. The Arumpâtai's son, Muttayya Pillai, who was at Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry, has brought in all his paddy, cooking vessels, etc. If he has

[1] Or less accurate ?
[2] *17th Âvani, Ângirasa.*

done this, what wonder that others should be flying here with their goods? The people of Villupuram and Tanduvalavanallûr[1] are said to be flying in panic.

When M. Bury, Madame Desjardins and others reached Valudâvûr fort this morning on a visit to M. Véry,[2] 20 or 30 guns were fired from the Fort on their arrival and while they were at table, in honour of his father-in-law[3] and mother-in-law. But all thought a battle had begun, and fled in panic even from distant places.

Wednesday, August 30.[4]—As Ânaiya Pillai's son, Ranga Pillai, has been writing about the plunder of the country and the burning of the villages by Muhammad 'Alî Khân's people, the Governor was troubled and anxious, and spent this evening in despatching reinforcements.

Thursday. August 31.[5]—I heard this morning, after reporting the news to the Governor, that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops, encamped near Tirukkânji yesterday, had plundered

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[1] Probably Valavanûr, 7 miles east of Villupuram.

[2] Jacques Véry de Saint Romain married Françoise Eléonore Desjardins, April 26, 1751. He seems to have accompanied La Bourdonnais on his expedition in 1746, and then remained in India. His commission as Lieutenant was dated October 25, 1750. Madame Desjardins, mentioned in the text, was Laurence Cosson de la Lande, whose sister, Elisabeth, had married Bury.

[3] His father-in-law, Guillaume Desjardins, was dead. Probably Bury is meant.

[4] *18th Âvani, Ângîrasa.*

[5] *19th Âvani, Ângîrasa.*

Pûranânkuppam near Ariyânkuppam, Alisapâkkam and other places and driven off the cattle, just as was done at Villiyanallûr, Odiyampattu and other villages. Horsemen surrounded Ranga Pillai and his ten matchlock people, at Lakshmana Nâyakkan's Choultry, but they escaped to Valudâvûr; and when Kônapparangi with some guards and horsemen arrived thence and opened fire, the horsemen fled, before M. Kerjean with our army could reach Lakshmana Nâyakkan's Choultry from Valudâvûr.

At four this evening, the poligar's peons on the Madras road reported that a Moghul had arrived in a palankin, with four horses and ten harkaras bringing the Pâdshâh's parwâna with letters from Salabat Jang, M. Bussy, etc. He is at Sôlaitândavan's Choultry, and when he was questioned, he said what is above written, which he desired to be reported to the Governor. This has been done accordingly, and the peons dismissed. I then put on my gown, and was about to go out when a peon came and summoned me to the Governor. I went to him at the custom-house on the Beach, where he was with the Superior of the St. Paul's Church, and saluted him from a distance. He called me to him, and said, 'A Moghul noble and mansabdar with the Pâdshâh's parwâna is at Nainiya Pillai's Choultry. Go and fetch him in,

lodge him in M. Renault's chamber at the washing-place and supply him with all the provisions he desires.' I took my leave and sent word to the Moghul, who had halted outside the northern bound-hedge. I myself went to the washing-place to desire M. Renault to get his lodgings ready, and then met the Moghul in the tamarind garden by Sôlaitândavan's Choultry. The Moghul advanced and embraced me and invited me to sit, himself sitting at a distance. He said, 'The Dîwân Sâhib has praised you and has spread your fame and glory as far as Delhi, inasmuch as you compassed the death of the Subahdar of the Deccan, acquired glory for the French and obtained for them Masulipatam and other countries, yielding a revenue of 25 or 30 lakhs, whereby your glory shall last as long as the world shall endure. How can I with a single mouth describe your glory ?' I replied to his compliments, declaring that, by the good fortune of Mahârâjâ His Highness the Nawâb Governor-General Sâhib, his dependants had all become glorious, and that those who had merely touched his feet had earned the title of Pâdshâh. How then could I describe his excellence ? I then asked why he had come. He replied, 'Formerly Râmadâs Pandit requested the Pâdshâh's illustrious parwâna from Mansûr 'Alî Khân and obtained it when Bhâji

Râo had been overthrown; but as he died before sending it, it was delayed. Salabat Jang has now given it to me with a dress of honour for the Governor, another for Madame and a third for her daughter, together with letters from himself and M. Bussy. I left a month ago and arrived to-day. My name is Yûsuf Bâshi Khân and I am the sardâr of a thousand horse.' Thus he related his whole business. I said, 'I hear you have some other business as well which you have not yet mentioned.' He answered, 'What is unknown to the dîwân? I have also brought a parwâna of confirmation for Arcot. It is to be given to the Governor to be sent to Muhammad 'Alî Khân, on condition that he will obey the Governor.'[1] 'When are you going to Muhammad 'Alî Khân?' I asked. He said that he would go as soon as he had delivered the Pâdshâh's illustrious parwâna, but he could not say when that would be; his instructions were to follow the Nawâb Sâhib's orders. He added, 'Letters have already been sent to the Governor about

[1] Cf. Bussy's letter to Dupleix, July 21, 1752 (*ap. Mémoire pour le sieur Godeheu*, p. 68), recommending Dupleix to come to terms with Muhammad 'Ali. The Imperial parwâna had been the subject of discussion for some time. In October, 1751, Bussy announced that a lakh of rupees had been sent to Delhi to procure it (see his letter *ap.* Hamont, *Dupleix*, p. 166). If the money really was sent, the farman may really have been genuine; but its value in either case may be judged from the fact that at this moment Ghâzi-ud-din, the Emperor's favourite, was seeking to overthrow Salabat Jang and the French.

Muhammad 'Alî Khân's affair, so you need not mention it. I will tell him when I meet him.' I agreed and said, 'The Governor has ordered me to take you to the washing-place and lodge you in the great house there.'—'I will go there to-morrow morning,' he said, 'for my tents are already pitched and they are preparing my meal, so I cannot go now.' After he had complimented me and begged me to present his respects to the Governor, I took leave and went to the Governor's, where I delivered my message and said that he would go to the washing-place to-morrow morning. The Governor desired that he should write and send by his harkaras a short letter to Muhammad 'Alî Khân as follows:—'I have brought the Pâdshâh's parwâna to Nawâb Governor-General Sâbat Jang Sâhib Avargal with letters from Salabat Jang, Saiyid Lashkar Khân and others, together with the Pâdshâh's present of cloth, with a sword and [dagger ?]. I have also brought Salabat Jang's parwâna and Saiyid Lashkar Khân's *inâyat-nâma*,[1] etc., addressed to you. With these I reached Pondichery this day. I have heard of the troubles here. Such things are not necessary. You should not burn houses or trouble the people, until I have visited Nawâb General Sâhib

[1] A letter of recommendation, or a written order from a superior.

Avargal and given him the Pâdshâh's parwâna and presents, and then I will visit you.'

When the Governor desired me to return and cause this letter to be written, I said, 'When I spoke to him in Hindustani, the Bâshi answered me in Persian; so if some one who speaks Persian is sent, everything can be clearly said and written.'—'Does he speak Persian?' the Governor asked. I replied, 'He is a Persian by birth, and wears a tall cap like those worn by the men who accompanied Tahmasp Quli Khân, when he attacked Muhammed Shâh at Delhi.' The Governor then told a chobdar to fetch M. Delarche, and, having called his wife who was near, told her what I had said. She replied that neither M. Delarche nor I should be sent, as we knew less than Madanânda Pandit; so she insisted that on no account should we be sent. But without listening to her, the Governor sent for M. Delarche and told me to go with him. Accordingly we went to the Moghul.

When M. Delarche had explained in Persian the reason of our visit, the other said he could not read or write Persian, but that the letter might be written out in Persian and he would send his seal to be affixed. Accordingly he directed Saiyid Muhammad, one of his attendants who wore the tall cap, to take horse and sent him away with us bearing his seal.

The Governor was at table. But when he heard of our arrival, he came out to us, welcomed Saiyid Muhammad, and desired him to sit down at table. He was offered bread with sweetmeats, fruit, etc., but only ate the bread and fruit.

When dinner was over, he told M. Delarche to ask Madanânda Pandit's Persian mulla to write a letter to Muhammad 'Alî Khân ; then it was put in a sealed cover, and given to the Moghul harkaras who were despatched to Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Tirukkânji with Company's peons to show them the way. The Moghul then returned to his camp near the Bound-hedge. M. Delarche went home. When I went to the Governor to take leave before going home, he said that the Moghul must be received with great pomp and that though he had only brought the Pâdshâh's parwâna, a sword, *turra*, *sarpêch*, cloths and other presents must be brought in as though they also had been sent, salutes must be fired, and a great feast given. He added that we must also give presents and the naubat, etc., must be sent to meet him. 'If we do so,' he said, 'all will know it and Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English will be deafened with the sound. Let the master-gunner be sent for and a tent pitched west of the road beyond the north gate.'

I accordingly sent for the master-gunner and told him to pitch the tent on the open ground opposite the road and spread carpets inside the tent.

He then said that to-morrow some one must receive the Bednûr vakîl, bring him in, and arrange a lodging for him. I observed that it was not fitting for me to go out to meet him, but that Madanânda Pandit or some one else might be sent. He then told Madanânda Pandit to go. He replied, 'Bednûr is a large state, and should be treated with as much respect as the Râjâ of Mysore.' So he told me to receive and bring him in. Being unwilling to oppose him, I agreed and came home.

SEPTEMBER 1752.

Friday, September 1.[1]—I hear that a reply has been received from Muhammad 'Alî Khân to Hyderabad Yûsuf Bâshi Khân's letter sent last night. It says :—' If you have a parwâna confirming my grant of the Carnatic subah, you should have come to me instead of remaining at Pondichery. Deliver to the Governor Sâhib of Pondichery the Pâdshâh's parwâna, Salabat Jang's letter, etc., and then come here immediately.' I hear that this letter was sent unopened to M. Delarche who took it to the Governor. Madanânda Pandit was ordered to read it. When the Governor heard it (as written above) he was very angry. There is news of a hard battle near the mango tope by the Villiyanallûr river lasting from ten o'clock in the morning till night-fall, between our army encamped at Lakshmana Nâyakkan's Choultry and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's at Tirukkânji. The sound of cannon and guns has been heard without a pause till the evening. It is said that 'Alî Khân attacked the enemy. fought well and beat them back, but the troopers proved quite useless. M. de Kerjean has not only given 'Alî Khân 300 rupees for a horse and four yards of broad-cloth as a

[1] *20th Âvani, Ângîrasa.*

present, but has also written to the Governor to send presents for him. In the evening the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's armies encamped at Tirukkânji, and our people at Lakshmana Nâyakkan's Choultry. Muhammad 'Alî Khân's army has twice fired 140 or 150 rounds at the new pêttah at Villiyanallûr. Both armies were drenched by the four inches of rain that fell at night.

Saturday, September 2.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he said that only the rains had prevented our army at Lakshmana Nâyakkan's Choultry from attacking Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English at Tirukkânji, as they desired.[2] I replied, 'True, Sir. I hear that the Ariyânkuppam river is filling.' After talking about other matters, I went to my office.

I heard this afternoon that Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English under Mr. Lawrence had marched with their armies from Tirukkânji in order to camp at the Kondûr Tope the other side of the Pennâr, near the Fort St. David Bound-hedge for fear of being cut off by floods. The Governor is said to have ordered our troops at Lakshmana Nâyakkan's Choultry north of Pirpai to pursue and take the first

[1] *21st Âvani, Ângirasa.*
[2] This scarcely confirms Dupleix' alleged counsels of caution to his nephew.

opportunity to attack the enemy. So our army has left Lakshmana Nâyakkan's Choultry and encamped at Tirukkânji, and the enemy's forces are encamped at Sellânjêri or thereabouts.

Muhammad 'Alî Khân's letter to the Governor received to-day runs as follows:—'You write that a parwâna has been received from the Pâdshâh, commanding all to obey you as chief ruler of these subahs. I have understood this. The Pâdshâh's parwâna praises you for your victory over Bâlâji Râo; and Salabat Jañg's parwâna desires you to treat me properly, while Saiyid Lashkar Khân writes the same. There is also a parwâna confirming me in the Arcot subah. I thank you. If you will treat me with justice, I will do as you desire. I will grant you the jaghirs which Muzaffar Jang and Salabat Jang gave you, surrender the jaghirs conferred upon your people and add whatsoever you may further demand. Treat me as one of your own people and reject me not.'

I also hear that it was written with high compliments, and this addition, that, if the Governor would but send Muhammad Tavakkal to visit him for an hour, he would explain and send him back immediately. On reading this, the Governor in anger forbade Muhammad Tavakkal to go, and declared that no answer

should be sent nor would he hear another word of him. He gave strict orders about this. A note has been written repeating the above ; it has been approved by the Governor, and given to the man who brought Muhammad 'Alî Khân's letter.

The Governor sent for me this evening and said, 'I am forced to make the Villiyanallûr temple into a fort : but the Tamils shall have walls round the tank enabling them to go in and out. The rest must be made into a fort.' So saying, he went in.

The Governor and M. d'Auteuil sent for me again to-night and asked me to mention a sheltered place for our army between Tiruvêndipuram and Tiruviti. I replied, 'There is a place called Karaiyâmputtûr, this side of the Pennâr, among our Company's villages. That might do.'—'Where did M. de La Touche once fight a battle ?' he asked. I said, Soranâvûr. The Governor agreed, and said that it was healthy. M. d'Auteuil said that he knew the place. I then went to my office.

By reason of yesterday's fight many from outside have come in. I hear that many have returned with their flag and idols from the festival which has been going on in Ariyânkuppam since Wednesday the 30th of August, when the flag was hoisted to denote the beginning of the festival.

Monday, September 4.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked where Muhammad 'Alî Khân was. I replied, 'Some say his army is at Bâhûr; others that his store of provisions is at Kondûr Tope beyond the Pennâr; but, as the river is in flood, his troops are still this side. It was said that, when Mr. Lawrence went to Fort St. David in order to get money for his expenses, the whole country-side declared that he meant to run away. So when he went to Fort St. David to confer with the Governor, he begged Muhammad 'Alî Khân not to depart from Bâhûr.' The Governor replied sharply, 'I hear that their army has crossed the Pennâr and encamped at Kondûr Tope beyond it; but you say differently.' I went to my office reflecting that I had better find out and then report the facts.

I also hear that Saiyid Kâzim has been given the Panchmahals (Tiruviti, Bhuvanagiri Tîrtanagari, Venkatammâlpêttai, and Porto Novo), besides being confirmed in possession of Vriddhachalam, Kallakurchi, Tiruppâlappandal, Eravâsanallûr, etc., countries; he has received a dress of honour.

I hear that the festival at Ariyânkuppam has begun again, and that the images have been taken back there.

[1] *23rd Âvani, Ângîrasa.*

As soon as the Governor had returned from Villiyanallûr this evening, he sent for me and, in the presence of M. Abeille,[1] said, 'I meant to convert the Villiyanallûr temple into a fort; but the temple lies low, while the mango tope to the south is high, so that guns, placed among the trees, and firing on the temple, would do much damage both to that and to the people there, whereas fire from the temple below could not reach the enemy. Besides the temple walls are old and useless. Three-quarters of the wall has fallen down, and would have to be rebuilt; and even then it would be too low. So I have ordered Tillai Maistry to make a fort round the mantapam in the mango tope.' M. Abeille observed, 'I saw that when I visited it the day before yesterday, but said nothing for fear you might get angry, and decided to tell you when you had seen the place. But the site you mention is excellent. If a fort is built there, no horsemen or sepoys, etc., will be able to come within a league of it.' The Governor agreed. He then began to talk with the officer who has come from the camp, so I went to my office.

The Company's merchants went to Villiyanallûr, on hearing that the Governor had gone there, to show him what had been burnt

[1] An engineer in the Company's service.

in the new pêttah. But before their arrival he had already inspected everything and was about to get into his carriage. When they salaamed, he asked what they wanted. They explained that they had come to tell him about the new pêttah being burnt, show him the place and obtain his orders. One of the Company's peons brought me a message from the Company's merchants that the Governor had promised to order his writer Ranga Pillai to rebuild the houses.

Thursday, September 7.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and asked if any one had come in from Fort St. David with news. I replied, 'No one has come in since yesterday. All the people we sent have come back because whoever is seen is at once killed.'—'Get some one to go, even if you pay 20 or 30 rupees,' he said. So I sent a Porto Novo boy with four persons belonging to the Nêsanûr man, giving them 40 rupees, with orders to find out how many of our people had been taken prisoner, or wounded, how many Europeans the enemy had lost and what they were about.

He sent for me again and asked if any news had arrived. I replied, 'A Chetti boy of this place, who came with M. Kerjean's

[1] 26th Âvani, Ângîrasa.

palankin-bearers having been taken and carried to Fort St. David, says that Muhammad 'Alî Khân and Mr. Lawrence are keeping our soldiers and officers in the Bâhûr fort but the wounded have been sent to Fort St. David. The English lost about 40 Europeans killed, and 60 or 70 wounded. Mr. Campbell, the Captain,[1] has been mortally wounded in the chest by a bullet and his death is hourly expected. Two or three other officers also have been mortally wounded.' The Governor observed that, as it was a hand-to-hand fight with the bayonet they could not use their muskets, and many must have been killed and wounded.[2] Then M. Aubert, the head-surgeon, came and said that he had opened the wound in M. Kerjean's back, extracted the bullet and dressed the wound. The Governor asked if he would recover. He replied that he could tell only after removing the dressing. This was told me by the Governor. I said that every one was grieved for M. Kerjean on account of his pleasant countenance, kind words, patience, good behaviour, etc. He replied, 'True; but he should have taken

[1] Captain Charles Campbell, is meant, I suppose; but he was not mortally wounded. He saved de Kerjean's life on this occasion, and in the following year was specially invited to be present at Kerjean's re-marriage.

[2] Cf. Orme, *History*, Vol. I, p. 236.

more care of himself on the battle-field. Why should he have been so careless when the enemy was only a couple of miles away? That was wrong of him.' The Governor then told his wife to send to the priests about Extreme Unction and get a will drawn up disposing of his property. I heard at my office that she had done so and that the Governor had seen to everything and returned.

Friday, September 8.[1]—Before leaving the Governor after reporting the daily news this morning, I told him that the tappal-men engaged to seize those who passed in English boats were still on duty, and asked if they should be withdrawn or kept on. The Governor replied, 'Get the usual batta and pay from the Arumpâtai and tell them they must remain until I give further orders.' I then went to my office.

At half-past five this evening harkaras from Muhammad 'Alî Khân, son of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, brought a letter for the Governor. I do not know its contents, but hear he has written in the joy of his success as follows: 'The Nizâm granted my father, Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, the Arcot subah, and this was confirmed by the Pâdshâh's sanad, after which he governed the subah. In these circumstances, Chandâ

[1] *27th Âvani,Ângîrasa.*

Sâhib rose up as Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's enemy and slew him. I strove to avenge this, and at last removed his enmity. I have been given the Carnatic subah and have received parwânas from the Pâdshâh, Nâsîr Jang and Ghâzi-ud-dîn. This you know well. Moreover I have also received Salabat Jang's ; yet you still oppose me. If you will be my friend, I will give you more jaghirs than you now enjoy, and continue their jaghirs to your people. If you and I were one, what could we not achieve ? I will do whatever you desire.' In such smooth words is he said to have written.

At half-past six this evening, a chobdar came and said that the Governor wanted me. I asked, 'Why has he sent for me and who is with him ?' He replied, 'The Governor sent for M. Albert ; but when I said that he was not at home, peons were sent to fetch him. He was angry at this and sent for you.'

When I stood and paid my respects to the Governor, he told me to send for Madanânda Pandit and direct him to write a letter as follows to Muhammad 'Alî Khân. 'I do not know either the number or the name of the soldiers and officers who were wounded by your troops in last Wednesday's fight, or how many unwounded prisoners you have taken. If you will be pleased to release both the wounded and the others, I will engage that

those who are thus released shall not draw sword again against you.[1] Believe me, and send them at once. If you will write to me beforehand I will send palankins and dhoolies.' I told Madanânda Pandit. When the letter had been written, the Governor had it sealed, gave it to his chobdar, and said, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân is at Bâhûr. Deliver this letter to him before ten or eleven o'clock and bring a reply before sunrise to-morrow.' He also sent two peons with him, and told them to go out by the iron wicket in the south gate as Muhammad 'Alî Khân's harkaras at the north gate would perceive their departure if they went that way. He then gave me leave and I went to my office.

At seven o'clock to-night, the Governor having replied to Muhammad 'Alî Khân's letter received this evening promising that, if he released the soldiers and officers, he (the Governor) would see that they did not take up arms again, believed that they would be released; so he sent for Vinâyaka Pillai and Appu and told them to send at once 15 palankins and all the dhoolies they could get. He also sent for me and said, 'I have given orders to the Arumpâtai and Appu to send palankins

[1] *Quere*, if this would have prevented their fighting against the English. Lawrence had allowed Kerjean alone to return to Pondichery on parole.

and dhoolies; but they are stupid, so help them and see to it. Set out at once and reach Ariyânkuppam to-night. M. d'Auteuil will be there getting palankins and dhoolies ready and you must ask him to take these also.' So I sent for Vinâyaka Pillai. He said, 'Ten or twelve palankins have been got ready, but two more are needed.' I got two more palankins and sent him off. The Governor wrote to Muhammad 'Alî Khân saying that palankin-bearers, palankins and dhoolies had been sent, with money for their expenses, and asking him to send the soldiers and officers. This he gave to Lâlâ, his chobdar, with 350 pagodas for their expenses; and despatched him at nine o'clock.

Saturday, September 9.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning, and asked if any news had been received from Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp. I replied that the chobdar and the two peons had returned at eight o'clock last night. The Governor sent for the chobdar and questioned him. He replied, 'We first saw some of the Bombay people who formed the outposts. When the sentries challenged us, we said we had letters to Muhammad 'Alî Khân from His Highness Nawâb General Sâhib Avargal at Pondichery. A sepoy was sent to

[1] *28th Âvani, Ângîrasa.*

guide us to the English guard. Thence we were sent with a corporal to Mr. Lawrence at Bâhûr fort, who asked whence we came. We said the same as before. Mr. Lawrence inquired about your health and asked us to pay you his respects. He then sent us to Muhammad 'Alî Khân. It was then about midnight, and he had just left the darbâr. When he heard of our coming, he came out, received our letter, admitted us, and read it. His writer had gone home; so he said that as it was too late to write an answer, he would send it to-morrow by his own men and dismissed us. Having sent aside the two peons who were with me, he gave me this message for you:—"I have taken vengeance on Chandâ Sâhib for slaying my father, Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, who ruled the Carnatic by the grant of both the Nizâm and the Pâdshâh. Moreover I have parwânas for the subah from the Pâdshâh, Nâsîr Jang and Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân. As you know, Salabat Jang's parwâna has just been received. Can I be expected to give up the Carnatic for which I have risked my wealth, my body and life itself? By no means. Did you not formerly seek my friendship? If you will do so again, I will be your man and do as you say. If the subah is yours, should you not appoint a nâib? Appoint me and I will allow you and your people the jaghirs given

you by Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and Salabat Jang, and more besides. But," he added, "if you do not hear me, I will never sit down quietly. In the past people have perished and the country has gone to ruin, till there remains not a dog to bark or a cock to crow. Perhaps the troubles of the people even yet are not ended." He added yet more, and ordered me to pay you his respects and request you to give him your friendship. This was said after Muhammad 'Alî Khân had taken me aside, and when we were standing together, with his hands on my shoulders.' The Governor did not listen attentively to the whole of the message; but presently came back to ask if he had met the palankins and dhoolies sent last night with chobdar Lâlâ to Muhammad 'Alî Khân. He said he had not. 'How is that?' he asked. The other said that he had come by Tirukkânji, while they had gone by Ariyânkuppam and Marikrishnâpuram. I then reported the news and went to my office.

Chobdar Lâlâ, who was sent to Muhammad 'Alî Khân, returned this evening and said, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân took the 350 pagodas which were given me for the expenses of the sick and wounded, and detained the palankins and dhoolies, and the bearers, though he refused to release the sick and the wounded. I was to report this.' The Governor said

angrily, 'Why did you give him the pagodas and leave the dhoolies, palankins, etc.? If they refused to release the wounded, you should have brought back the money and palankins, etc. What do you mean by returning without them?' The chobdar said he could not help it. I hear that he has been sent back, and that Dôst Muhammad also has been ordered to go to Muhammad 'Alî Khân.

Sunday, September 10.[1]—This morning I reported the news to the Governor and then went to my office.

Europeans and sepoys have been sent out to reinforce those who have escaped to Ariyânkuppam—wounded and unwounded—after the battle of last Tuesday night, September 5. Ten cannon, tents, etc., and other munitions of war were also sent to show the enemy that our army is ready for them. When, by God's grace, the *Devanâmpattanam* arrives from Mascareigne, she will bring 300 or 400 soldiers, Coffrees, etc. When they arrive, our army will be large enough to threaten the enemy; and many are praying that then God will prosper our affairs. God alone knows how I grieve at the thought that any should have blamed me, who had won glory as high as the skies.

[1] *29th Âvani, Ângîrasa.*

I heard the following news this evening :—Muhammad 'Alî Khân sent news by a Frenchman who was made prisoner in the battle of Tuesday night, about the release of the Europeans and the conclusion of peace. This Frenchman visited the Governor at five o'clock this evening at the new *Gouvernement*, where he talked to him, accompanied him to his house and talked to him there also. He was ordered to be ready to return to Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp with Dôst Muhammad at eight o'clock to-night. I do not know the European's message or the Governor's answer.

Monday, September 11.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked the news. I said that 33 bales of our Company's merchants and of the Kârikâl merchants had been packed at the Fort this morning.

He then said, 'To-morrow I must go and receive the Pâdshâh's parwâna. Get ready the naubat, the Fish-standard, music, lances, dancing-girls, etc., with peons to hold the standards. If these are ready, I will go at half-past seven to-morrow to receive the parwâna.'—'Am I to tell the Muhammadans, the amaldârs and the Company's merchants?' I asked. 'Don't you know,' he asked, 'that it is usual for all to give presents?' I said I would send word accordingly, then took leave

[1] *30th Âvani,Ângîrasa.*

and sent peons from my office to inform Razâ Sâhib, Fath-i-'Alî Khân, and other nobles, the Company's merchants, etc., and Pâpayya Pillai and the amaldârs, that the Governor would receive the Pâdshâh's parwâna to-morrow, and that they should visit him with presents. The Governor sent for M. Delarche and M. du Bausset, and told them that he would receive the Pâdshâh's parwâna to-morrow. He gave them 150 mohurs and 600 rupees, with instructions to distribute them to the Councillors and other Europeans who should appear with presents. M. Delarche and M. du Bausset took the money and departed.

Two vakîls, father and son, from Bednûr to-day visited the Governor by means of Madame. They gave her and the Governor the following presents from their Râjâ :—

A pair of Tadpatri *dupattis*, said to be worth 200 rupees ; two logs of sandalwood ; seasoned areca-nut ; attar, etc.

They then delivered their Râjâ's message and took leave. They are said to have proposed to be present daily at the darbâr so long as they stayed here, to which the Governor agreed. He also promised them a daily batta of five rupees, according to custom.

The Governor sent for me this morning and asked if I had arranged for the visits to-morrow morning. I said that everything was ready.

When he was thus questioning me, a palankin-boy came from Dôst Muhammad, who went to Muhammad 'Alî Khân, with the following message from his master :—'When I and the European gentleman arrived yesterday, the latter alone was admitted, while I had to wait with the palankins a mile away. So I waited there all last night. I was sent for this morning, and spoken with ; but afterwards I was told to go back again.' The bearer added that Dôst Muhammad said he would return after he had seen Muhammad 'Alî Khân on the latter's return from Fort St. David. The Governor asked him if he knew anything else. He answered, 'What can I know, for I was kept close as soon as we arrived ?' The Governor then gave him leave, and he departed.

Tuesday, September 12.[1]—As the Governor had ordered last night, I went to my office this morning, in order to arrange for elephants, horses, the naubat, music, dancing-girls, etc., for the reception of the Pâdshâh's parwâna and presents waiting at the washing-place. But it rained, so the matter was postponed.

I then went to the Governor and reported the news as usual. He said, 'It is raining, so we can do nothing ; but see that everything is ready at four o'clock.' I said I would do so, went to my office, sent for the several people,

[1] *31st Âvani, Ângirasa*

told them to have the elephants and horses, the naubat, the Fish-standard, flags, music, etc., ready at four o'clock. Then I slept for a quarter of an hour and went back to the office. Everything was then ready. Having inspected them, I went to the tent pitched near the Madras gate. I sent word to Yûsuf Bâshi Khân, the Moghul who has been waiting at the washing-place with the Pâdshâh's parwâna and presents, to be ready. At four o'clock the Governor set out for the tent with Father Antony, the new Bishop, the Second, with the rest of the Councillors and certain Europeans, Chandâ Sâhib's son, Razâ Sâhib, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, Fath-i-'Alî Khân, the subidar from Bengal, Muzaffar Khân's son, Hasan-ud-dîn Khân's son-in-law Salîm-ul-lah, Shaikh Ibrâhîm's son, 'Alî Khân, Mirzâ 'Abd-ul-nabî Bêg and other jemadars, European guards and troopers, Muhammadan sepoys, elephants, horses, the naubat, the Fish-standard, flags borne by elephants, elephants with howdahs, music, etc. He rode in his palankin, with men bearing chowries on either side, and thus in great pomp proceeded to Kanakarâya Mudali's house, then turned north by the Râjâ's Street near the Madras gate through the bazaar, and took his seat in the tent. Then he and Razâ Sâhib went up to the room above the Fort gate, while the Father, the Second and other Councillors

and certain Europeans, with the rest of the procession went to the washing-place to fetch the presents. When they had nearly returned with the parwâna and presents in the Governor's palankin, I informed the Governor, who entered the tent with Razâ Sâhib. When the Moghul entered the tent with the presents, a salute of 21 guns was fired by the Fort and the ships. The Moghul gave the Governor the Pâdshâh's parwâna and presents, which consisted of a *kalgi-turra*, a sword set with rubies, a *sarpêch* and other jewels, and the dress of honour. When the Governor received them, another salute of 21 guns was fired by the Fort and the ships.

The following are the presents :—

A *kalgi-turra* set with diamonds ;
a sword with a ruby and emerald hilt ;
a shield ;
a quiver ;
a bow ; and seven shining jewels.

Thus the Governor received presents from the Pâdshâh.

The following are the particulars of the nazars given to the Governor at the tent :—

I gave	21 mohurs.
Annâswâmi	10 mohurs.
Appâvu	5 mohurs.
Razâ Sâhib	7 pagodas.
'Alî Naqî Sâhib	5 pagodas.

Vinâyaka Pillai was then sent to distribute, according to the Governor's orders, 150 mohurs and 600 rupees, to the Councillors, certain Europeans and the ship's captain; then the Second and the other Europeans offered nazars of 5 mohurs and 6 rupees. Thus in all 184 mohurs, 12 pagodas and 204 rupees were given. Afterwards the Governor got into his palankin. The Bishop, the Second, and other Councillors, the Europeans, etc., followed him, together with the rest of the procession including the Pâdshâh's parwâna and presents in a palankin. When he was passing the Râjâ's Street, he gave the dragoons 600 pieces of gold and 200 rupees, to be distributed in handfuls among the beggars. This was done accordingly. The 200 rupees and 600 pieces of gold amounted in value to 1,000 rupees. When the Governor reached his house, 21 guns were fired at the Fort and from the ships. The following are the details of the presents given to the Governor at his house:—

The people of Olukarai, Alisapâkkam and other out-lying villages ...	50 pagodas.
The Company's merchants.	150 pagodas.
Pâpayya Pillai	50 pagodas.
The same to Madame ...	50 pagodas.
His son to the Governor ...	11 pagodas.
The same to Madame ...	11 pagodas.

Nâganna Nâyakkan, sowcar Vallabhu Sundar's gumastah	11 pagodas.
Timmanna Nâyakkan, Gôvardhana Dâs's gumastah.	5 pagodas.
The mint-people	100 pagodas.

In all 394 pagodas and 144 rupees were presented to the Governor at his house, including the nazars of those Europeans who did not present any in the tent.

The Moghul and those who accompanied him were given rose-water and *pân supârî*, and desired to take up their lodgings in Muttiya Pillai's house, which had been made ready. The Moghul said he would remain at the washing-place to-day, and go to Muttiya Pillai's house to-morrow morning. The Governor sent M. Delarche with the Moghul when he departed.

I then requested the Governor to release the prisoners in the Choultry and in the Nayinâr's house. He replied that he would order their release to-morrow.

Wednesday, September 13.[1]—When the Governor woke up at ten o'clock this morning, I reported the news to him and then came away.

[1] 1st *Purattâsi, Ângîrasa.*

He sent for me presently when he had read the letter received with the Pâdshâh's parwâna, and directed a copy of the Persian letter to be written out with an abstract in Tamil underneath, so that all might understand it. The Governor was overjoyed with the letter. He said that the Pâdshâh had written as follows :—' What Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and Salabat Jang have given you and what the latter may give you in future, I will approve. You may depend upon this. Manage the Deccan countries therefore with Salabat Jang and protect them. If you come with him, I will see you. I long to see you, and I am highly pleased with your victories and bravery.' [1]

He asked me if the Pâdshâh had ever condescended to write so respectfully to any one before. I replied, ' No, for there never was your equal, nor ever will be.' I thus complimented him suitably. He told me to buy two candies of sugar to be distributed in the town. I said I would do so, and, having sent for the choultry-writers, gave them orders accordingly.

Deeming the time propitious, I said, ' Sir, at this time of joy nothing could be more noble than if you were pleased to release the prisoners.' He said he would do so this afternoon. I thanked him and then went to my office.

[1] See above, p. 187.

A quarter of an hour later, I heard that, according to the custom of giving 10,000 or 20,000 to the reader of the Pâdshâh's parwâna, a dress of honour had been given him and a chain weighing 20 pagodas put round his neck, by the advice of suitable persons.

As I told the Governor that copies of the Pâdshâh's parwâna should be sent to all the jemadars and killedars, he gave orders accordingly to Madanânda Pandit. He then sent for M. du Bausset and M. Delarche. I believe this was about sending the parwâna to Muhammad 'Alî who is at Fort St. David.

A copy of the Pâdshâh's parwâna to the Governor [received on] September 13, 1752, translated from the Persian :—

The honourable letter written by His Majesty the blessed of God, to His Excellency the Governor Bahâdûr Zafar Jang on the 11th Rajab and in the fifth year of his reign:— 'Be it known to the Capitan and Governor-General Bahâdûr Zafar Jang who awaits our grace and benevolence, that we have received repeated honourable petitions from[1] the councillor of our royal secrets, Asaf-ud-daulah Bahâdûr Salabat Jang, touching your efforts on behalf of our Government and welfare. This has afforded us great pleasure, and our

[1] Reading *Yenbarar* for *Yenbavarukku*.

royal favour towards you increases daily. If then you continue to regard Asaf-ud-daulah as a friend dear as your own life, and afford him all the help of which you are capable, you may regard his grace and benevolence as our own. Moreover when Asaf-ud-daulah, our well-deserving friend, appears in our High Presence, your prosperity shall be increased if you accompany him. Moreover we approve your request regarding the manner in which Asaf-ud-daulah shall behave towards you.' The letter was thus written and dated.

Friday, September 15.[1]—After I had reported the news to the Governor this morning, he asked me what other news there was. I replied I had heard that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops had left Bâhûr and encamped between the Kondûr Tope near the Pennâr and the Gadilam near Tiruvêndipuram, and that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's tents were pitched from the Fort St. David Bound-hedge up to the middle of Tiruvêndipuram.

The Governor then said, 'No one has ever received such a parwâna from the Pâdshâh as I have. Moreover it is written on the sort of paper used for petitions—such a thing is unknown. The Muhammadans are astonished that paper only used in writing to persons of

[1] *3rd Purattâsi, Ângirasa.*

equal rank, should have been used in writing to me.'[1] I replied. 'I am no wise astonished. When after the accession of Pâdshâh Aurang-[zîb], this country was brought under his umbrella, the throne of Delhi was threatened by Nâdir Shâh of Ispahan with his large army; then Nizâm-ul-mulk, S'aadat Khân and others feared Nâdir Shâh because they were not your friends. But, though you and your army may remain here, and never march to Delhi, that great throne and Ahmad Shâh Pâdshâh who sits thereon and even the city itself and the dependent kingdoms—all tremble at the sound of your name, and seek your protection. What wonder then that Ahmad Shâh Pâdshâh writes to you with compliments on paper he would use to his equals?' He smiled at my words, and went into Madame's room. I went to my office.

Monday, September 18.[2]—I told the Governor of the news brought by my people that the English troops at Madras, had marched along the beach to attack Covelong; that, on their approach, our people in the Fort, M. Le Blanc,[3]

[1] The suggestion may be hazarded that this extreme condescension hardly increases the probability of the letter's authenticity.

[2] *6th Purattâsi, Ângirasa.*

[3] In the *French Correspondence, 1752*, p. 113, occurs a letter from Dupleix to the Commandant who is addressed as 'Hoyt.' This I conjecture to be the gallicised spelling of 'White.' About this time in Bengal an English sea-captain of this name was known as 'White Le Blanc.' The Commandant may have been a relative of this man.

and others, who were on their guard, had opened fire, whereupon the English had fled to Anga Pillai's Choultry beyond the back-water, where they fear they will be attacked by our troops at Chingleput fort.[1] The Governor said that it was true, and added, 'M. Melon[2] at Chingleput has written proposing to attack the English with his army. I shall write to him telling to attack them with caution and promising to send some troops.'

I hear that the Governor has appointed 'Alî Khân captain of the sepoys,[3] and instructed him to dismiss all the washermen and barbers, replace them by able men, and enlist 200 more troopers besides the 300 already in pay.

Wednesday, September 20.[4]—As the Governor heard that Maratha horse had plundered Semangalam, Parangani and other places, westwards, at six o'clock this evening, he ordered the Valudâvûr and Villiyanallûr gates

[1] This was the occasion when Clive's unformed troops ran away with such discreditable alacrity. See Orme, *History*, I. 261.

[2] Both Dupleix and Clive (*French Correspondence, loc. cit.*, and Hill, *Catalogue of the Orme MSS.*, p. 221) mention Saint-Germain as commander of the troops at Chingleput. But the summons to surrender that place was addressed to Melon. In default of better information, I suggest that Melon was the Civil Commandant, and Saint Germain, the Commander of the troops. Renault de St. Germain (son of the Company's servant who surrendered Chandernagore in 1757) was a Lieutenant of 1750.

[3] At this time the French do not seem to have appointed European officers to their sepoys. The commission in question was probably similar to that granted by the English to Yûsuf Khân in 1754.

[4] *8th Purattâsi, Ângîrasa.*

to be closed, and also all but the wicket at the Madras gate. This was done accordingly.

As the Governor is unwell, the great gate was closed, and people came and went by the back-door. I went to the Governor that way, and, as we were talking, a peon came from Chingleput with a letter from M. Melon for me. The Governor looked at it and gave it to me, saying that it was for me. I offered it him to read. He then opened and read it, as follows :—' When M. Le Blanc at Covelong was off his guard, the English approached the fort, and prepared to raise batteries and fight. If I had been there, I would have attacked the English by the backwater. M. Le Blanc is ill-treating Krishna Pillai.' There followed certain detail about this. When he had read it and told me the contents, he retired into Madame's room and I came away.

Peon Muttu, who brought M. Melon's letter, told me that he was servant of Krishna Pillai who had given him a letter for me, and that, at Chingleput, he had received further letters for me from Prakâsan (head-peon Anantappan's grandson) and Mutta Pillai. Besides these, he gave me a message as follows :—' On the evening of Friday, September 15, the English troops reached Anga Pillai's Choultry; on the 16th, they went to Badê Sâhib's gardens, where they raised a redoubt with four faces

There was hard fighting from the 16th to the afternoon of the 19th, when M. Le Blanc, being helpless, made terms with the English, delivered up the fort of Covelong to them on the evening of Tuesday the 19th and marched away. On Wednesday the 20th, M. Melon sent M. St. Germain with 500 or 600 sepoys from Chingleput. They arrived without knowing the fort had surrendered to the English; so Mr. Clive, the English commander at Covelong, hoisted the white flag and fired one gun. M. St. Germain, the commander of our troops, approached with his men. The enemy waited till he was close, and surrounded him and opened fire. On perceiving that they had been tricked, our people resisted; but as many had been killed, M. St. Germain could not hold out and was put to flight.' My letters were to the same effect.

I then went to the Governor and told him Prakâsan had written to me that the fort of Covelong had been delivered to the English on the evening of the 19th, and, having reported the rest of the news, produced the peon before the Governor. He told his story in French. The Governor told me that in a letter of September 20 (*sic*), M. St. Germain had written as follows:—'I reached Tiruppôgalûr[1] or thereabouts with 200 men, and

[1] Probably Tiruppôrûr. 16 miles from Chingleput.

attacked the English who could not resist me. I shall march to-night and drive them away.' He added, 'M. Le Blanc also wrote to me that he would be cautious, and that he was very glad at my promising to send Europe ships with the help of which he would defeat the enemy. Moreover a chobdar from Mylapore tells me that on his way he saw the white flag flying on the Covelong fort on the 20th and that our people were defending themselves bravely. But your news says that the fort surrendered on the evening of the 19th. If that were true, should I not have heard about it?' I replied, 'The news related in my letters is confirmed by the peon.'—'I think,' the Governor said, 'that your news is not first-hand. It has come from Sadras. Send people to find out.' But the peon said, 'The news is true. Some Topasses, who had escaped from the Fort, arrived and said it was true.' The Governor said to me, 'Stay at your godown to-night after supper, and inform me if you receive any news.' I said I would do so, went to my office, sent for my food, and stayed there. So far I have received no more news.

He afterwards sent for me twice, and spoke about the same affair. He sent for me at eleven o'clock and asked if any news had come. I said none, except what is written

above. Then he told me to go home. I got home at midnight.

Krishna Pillai's letter to me is as follows:—'M. Le Blanc sent for me on the 14th and told me to get in provisions as the English had reached Tiruvâmiyûr. I said I would do so. He wanted them at once; but I explained that they had to be brought from outside. He insisted that provisions must be sent for and supplied at once, or else I must say I had paid in 1,000 pagodas less than I really had. I replied that I could do nothing till I had written to my master and received his orders. M. Le Blanc hit me on the cheek. I said that he could do as he pleased, but that I was helpless. He then produced a pistol and, pointing it at me, said, "Will you deduct 1,000 pagodas and declare that you have not paid it, or shall I shoot you?" I was afraid that he who had done so much would not hesitate to shoot me, and wrote and signed what he desired. I then told him that the English army were at the village of Kadupuli.[1] M. Le Blanc said that they were not coming here, for he had heard they were marching by Chingleput, and that there was no need to do anything. He would not listen to anything I said, but threatened me, and cared nothing. On the 15th the

[1] Unidentified.

English reached Anga Pillai's Choultry, and on the 16th Badê Sâhib's gardens. Our people sallied out of the fort,[1] and attacked them, killing two officers[2] and a few soldiers and sepoys, and losing three or four. M. Le Blanc then withdrew into the fort, with my peons. On the evening of the 19th, M. Le Blanc made terms with the English, surrendered the fort, and became a prisoner of war. Fearing to remain during such troubles, I have departed to a village near Pottireddi Chingamanâyakkanpâlaiyam. As my peons have to be paid, I shall come to Pondichery. I enclose a note in French, saying that the Governor must be informed of M. Le Blanc's behaviour.'

The Maratha troopers to-day, in parties of four, five, eight or ten, plundered the Company's jaghir villages and seized and drove off the cattle ; so that the people have been troubled and have run away. A few Maratha horsemen entered my agrahâram at Tiruvêngadapuram, threatening the people and beating and plundering the passers-by ; so the inhabitants have fled.

M. LaVolonté Kônapparangi went out with a few matchlock-people this afternoon to hinder the Marathas from carrying off the

[1] Reading *Kôttai* for *Kôpai*.

[2] Lieutenant Cooper is said to have been taken and subsequentl killed. (Hill. *Catalogue of the Orme MSS.*, p. 221).

cattle. Each claimed cattle for his own, pointing out false marks, and offering half a rupee or a rupee for each. I hear that he took the money, and delivered them the cattle.

Friday, September 22.[1]—The Governor asked me if it was true that the fort had been surrendered. I said it was, and that he[2] was at Tiruvidandai. The Governor said, 'He is a vile dog, and has been bribed by the English to betray us.' I observed, 'He is a rascal. It would take ten thousand sheets to write and three hours to relate his iniquities at Covelong. Such a man would not hesitate to betray us. I am sure he has done so.' I then related his misconduct, and his pretending not to believe in the approach of the enemy; and he answered, 'He must certainly have sold us to the English.'

As we were talking, a letter arrived from M. Melon at Chingleput. He wrote as follows:—'M. Le Blanc surrendered Covelong to the English on Tuesday evening. On Wednesday morning, they hoisted the white flag; and our men from Chingleput and M. St. Germain advanced, supposing we still held the fort. But when he was near the fort, he was surrounded; the white flag was pulled down, the

[1] *10th Purattâsi, Ângirasa.* [2] *Sc.* Le Blanc.

English flag was hoisted, and the enemy attacked. As our people mistook the enemy for our own men, many were killed and M. St. Germain was made prisoner.'[1]

When the letter had been read, Madame Dupleix came and talked to him. The Governor then called me and repeated to me what M. Melon had written. He asked me to send a reply at once, to M. Melon at Chingleput.

I told him that ten bales of thin unbleached cloth had been packed and that there were altogether 1,114 bales on hand. 'Well,' the Governor said, 'will it be sorted to-morrow?' I said that there would be more than 30 bales ready belonging to the Company's merchants and the Kârikâl merchants. I then went to my office.

The Maratha horse came as far as the Bound-hedge to-day, driving off the cattle, plundering the country, and wounding many. Consequently people in the out-villages in alarm took shelter in the town. Their trouble and loss is indescribable. I know not how God will bring our immeasurable troubles to an end. The Governor sent M. d'Auteuil with 60 or 70 of the European body-guard and 200 sepoys to drive them away. They fled; so our people returned by half-past six.

[1] Cf. Sir George Forrest's *Life of Clive*, Vol. I, p. 215.

The Governor sent for me at seven o'clock to-night and said to me angrily:—'M. Le Blanc writes that he surrendered Covelong on the evening of Tuesday, September 19, as the enemy were 2,000 strong, and would have stormed the place. He is a mule, and has betrayed us. Had any breach been made in the walls? Or did he lack provisions? Nothing of the sort. He has betrayed us. He says that he surrendered because he had not men enough to guard the walls if so numerous an enemy attempted an escalade.' I replied suitably. The Governor continued, 'Anyhow he should have warned M. St. Germain that he had surrendered; but he kept quiet, and M. St. Germain with his men fell into the enemy's trap. The latter has been released by the English, and was brought in here at four o'clock. The Marathas wounded him on the way, so he is in the hospital. From what he says, I believe that M. Le Blanc is entirely to blame.' I replied suitably and went to my office.

At ten o'clock to-night, I heard that Mr. Clive, having left a Brâhman as amaldâr at Covelong with some peons to guard the fort, had crossed the backwater with his troops in order to attack Chingleput.

I also hear that M. Le Blanc, after surrendering Covelong, went to Sadras.

Letters came to-day from Salabat Jang and M. Bussy at Hyderabad, saying that Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân was 35 kos this side of the Narbadâ, that Saiyid Lashkar Khân had been to Poona to treat with Bhâji Râo, that Shâh Nawâz Khân had been given the subah of Hyderabad, with M. Bussy as killedar, that Shaikh Ibrâhîm had been made risaldar and ordered to raise horse, and given a covered palankin; that 40,000 troopers had been enlisted; but they wanted soldiers, sepoys, powder, shot, etc., from Pondichery, for, if affairs there were once established, the Carnatic could quickly be settled as the Governor pleased; so they demanded every man that could be spared from here. So the soldiers and volunteers, etc. —about 100 Europeans—who came on board the *Devanâmpattanam* from Mascareigne with a few sepoys and mortars and cannon, muskets, powder, shot, etc., are to be sent by the *Anson*.

Sunday, September 24.[1]—I went to the Governor at ten o'clock when he returned from church, and reported the news. He asked if any news had come from Chingleput. I replied, 'Mr. Clive reached Chingleput on Friday; when his troops were seen from the fort, M. Villéon, the commandant, and M.

[1] *12th Purattâsi, Ângirasa.*

Melon, posted the peons and sepoys for defence. They have provisions for a year, with sufficient powder and shot, so that nothing is wanting for the defence. God's will remains to be seen; but the defenders will leave nothing undone to keep the enemy off.' The Governor replied, 'M. Le Blanc is an Englishman, and a traitor, else Covelong would never have fallen.' I said that was true. He sent for me again afterwards, and observed that the proceeds of the bill of exchange on Sadras could not yet have been sent to Chingleput. I agreed, and then went to my office.

M. Delarche told Yûsuf Bâshi Khân, who brought the Pâdshâh's parwâna, that he could reach Masulipatam in three days by the *Anson* which is bound thither. Yûsuf then went to the Governor and said that he preferred to go by land instead of sea.

The Governor sent for me at three o'clock this afternoon and said that he would give 50 rupees to any one who delivered a letter (which he gave me) to the commandant of Chingleput. I gave 20 rupees to two men and sent them off, telling them of the Governor's promise. Again the Governor sent for me and told me to send another letter. So I gave 20 rupees to two more men and despatched them.

I hear this morning that Muhammad 'Alî Khân, who was at Tiruviti, is halting at

Tiruttalûr on his way to Arcot, as he cannot cross the Pennâr which is full. As it was raining when he set out, and as the river was full, his affair cannot prosper.

When I told the Governor, he asked why the Marathas had allowed him to go. I said I had heard that they intended to accompany him.

Tuesday, September 26.[1]—As bleached cloth was being examined, I went to the Fort this morning. When I was about to leave after the cloth had been packed, the Governor's peon called me. When I went and paid my respects, he asked the news from Chingleput. I said that the following had been written:—'Mr. Clive and others are camped in the Nattam village. His troops cannot approach the fort from the west, east or north, but only from the south, where is the fort gate. He is trying to raise batteries, but is prevented by the fire of the fort. Being helpless, he has sent to Covelong for 3 or 4 mortars in order to drop shell into the fort. Nothing will be done until then. If a small body of troops were sent from here, and the garrison of the fort made a brisk attack, the enemy would be put to flight. The fort gate is said to have been removed and the place built up.'

[1] *14th Purattâsi, Ângîrasa.*

I then reported that 44 bales had been packed at the Fort to-day; there were 1,158 bales in the godown, besides 60 bales of handkerchiefs arrived by boat from Masulipatam—in all 1,218 bales.

The Governor then asked the news from Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp. I replied, 'I heard that Muhammad 'Alî Khân, who was on the bank of the river, had marched with his army to Villupuram; but others say that his principal people are speaking of marching to Arcot, after making another attempt on Gingee. We shall know in a couple of days.' The Governor said, 'M. Le Blanc has got M. Dormieux, the Second Captain[1] of the Dutch at Sadras, to write a letter on his behalf. He is a mule. Why should he be so alarmed, if he had not betrayed us? He ought to have come here as soon as he had surrendered the fort. Instead of that, his dark mind has made him wait to get letters about his conduct.'—'True,' I replied, 'his ill-conduct cannot be written or described. If he comes here and is personally questioned about certain matters, his misdeeds will be known. What is the use of accusing him in his absence? When he comes, I will

[1] 'Captain' is probably used here in the sense of chief. Dormieux, who was a servant of the Dutch Company, subsequently became chief of Sadras.

tell everything.' The Governor said that he well knew him to be a treacherous rascal. Pâpayya Pillai then came, and the Governor took him in Madame's room. I went to my office.

Wednesday, September 27.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and asked if there was news from Chingleput. I replied, 'Our people have walled up the fort gate and are on the alert. They are firing on the English to prevent their raising batteries and approaching the fort. A 24-pounder and two mortars have been brought from Covelong. They mean to build a battery for their cannon on the south, whence they hope to open fire and take the fort. Mr. Clive has asked Muhammad 'Alî Khân to go thither, so the latter is marching by Villupuram.' Having related this, I went to my office.

[1] *15th Purattâsi, Âṅgîrasa.*

OCTOBER 1752.

Sunday, October 1.[1]—The Governor sent for me at five o'clock this afternoon and asked the news from Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp. I replied, 'There is a river near Wandiwash. Muhammad 'Alî Khân is encamped beside it and is demanding from Taqî Sâhib the balance of the money that was promised Nâsîr Jang. Vakîls are going to and fro about this. The Marathas are encamped south of the fort.'

I added, 'Two chelingas have arrived from Porto Novo with brown cloth and long-cloth (Dutch sort), and Surat dyed cloth on account of the Company's merchants. There are 1,000 *nagais* of brown cloth and 1,500 of dyed cloth. M. Auvet [?] of the Porto Novo factory has written to me by the chelingas, saying that Bhujanga Râo Narasinga Râo, younger brother of [Morâri Râo ?], is encamped four hours' journey west of Porto Novo with two or three thousand Maratha horse, who are plundering wherever they go. The Dutch on receiving this news made ready to defend themselves. The merchants, etc., and sea-men have been armed.'

[1] *19th Purattâsi, Ângîrasa.*

The Governor said that they would not find much, for 2,000 horsemen had already plundered as they came by and returned with Muhammad 'Alî Khân.

The Governor added, 'To-morrow is a holiday on account of the Duc de Bourgogue, the grandson of the King. So have elephants, horses, the naubat, etc., ready to-morrow afternoon. Tell the Muhammadans, merchants, etc., of this and invite them to be present.' I invited the necessary persons, and then came home.

Tuesday, October 3.[1]—The Governor woke up at ten o'clock this morning. When I had reported the news, he went to his room to write. I went to my office.

A letter from Sêshâdri Pillai at Sadras came to-day. He reports that Mutta Pillai and other Sadras people inform him that on Saturday, September 30, M. Villéon made terms and surrendered Chingleput and that he and his Carnatic sepoys are on their way to Sadras with their arms, goods and families. I did not like to be the first to tell this fatal news to the Governor, but preferred to wait till he had heard or some one else had told him. Moreover the Governor's letters had

[1] *21st Purattâsi, Âng̃irasa.*

ordered the garrison to surrender the fort to the English. As there were no Europeans but only Carnatic sepoys in the fort, I suppose they thought they could not continue to resist. No one can be blamed. The fort of itself came into our hands at the appointed time; and at the appointed time all things are being taken from us—so all men say. The Governor had ordered the commandant to surrender the fort on receipt of his letter; but M. Melon, who had formerly lived in Madras, feared that, if he surrendered to Mr. Clive, he would not be allowed to depart with his property like the rest[1]; so he climbed the wall at night, crossed the lake to the north and reached Sadras about ten o'clock on the 30th.

Saturday, October 7.[2]—To-day's news is as follows:—Mirzâ 'Abd-ul-nabî Bêg, with 1,000 rupees for his expenses, has been sent with a letter to treat with Morâri Râo and Nandi Râjâ, chief minister of the Râjâ of Mysore, who are encamped together. The conditions are that they should march with their army and attack and slay Muhammad 'Alî Khân.

[1] This suggests that he should be identified with the Charles Melon (or Milon), whose house at Madras was sequestrated in 1749, on account of his having continued to reside there under French protection.

[2] *25th Purattâsi, Ângîrasa.*

Morâri Râo is to receive two lakhs of rupees if he does this, and another two lakhs when Muhammad 'Alî Khân has been disposed of. The Râjâ of Mysore is to receive Trichinopoly, in return for which he is to pay thirty lakhs of rupees. Mirzâ 'Abd-ul-nabî Bêg is to offer such terms for the assistance of these two persons with their armies, and to agree to any other demand they may make.[1] He was secretly despatched at twelve o'clock last night in a boat to Kârikâl, whence he will go by land to Trichinopoly to meet Morâri Râo, etc. It began to rain as soon as he had got into the surf, so he got wet through and the rain filled the boat. He therefore came ashore again, and only set out at nine o'clock this morning.

I went to the fort this morning in order to despatch some bales for Mascareigne; but there was no room on the ship; so the Second told M. Miran that the goods might be packed at leisure after the ship had sailed. I then

[1] This intrigue had been on foot for some time, and was already known to the English in the previous August (*Military Consultations*, 1752, p. 29). Apparently some of the letters from Dupleix and Madame fell into English hands, for Dalton writes, 'I have seen several, both of his and Madame la Marquise's letters to the Morattoe wrote with much art, and generally accompanied with presents very acceptable. In these letters the English were generally very differently treated, represented as a truly plodding mercantile people, unacquainted with the art of war.' (*Orme MSS.*, India, Vol. III, f. 561). Cf. *Military Consultations*, 1752, p. 55.

went to the Governor, reported the news, and went to my office.

As the Maratha horse have plundered Karukudikuppam, Bommayyapâlaiyam, Kâlâpêttai, Kûnimêdu and other places, and driven off the cattle, the Governor to-day sent dragoons, who went out as far as Bommayyapâlaiyam, and on their return reported that the Marathas had gone to Kiliyanûr and those parts.

Kônapparangi who was encamped with his troops near Villiyanallûr had marched to the Karukudikuppam mettu. Twenty-one guns were fired at six this evening.

I did not visit the Governor till two o'clock to-day, as he was unwell and his door was closed. I hear that Europeans did not go either until the door was opened at noon.

'Alî Naqî Sâhib and two or three Muhammadans are said to have received news that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's army had moved from Wandiwash to Vellimêttupêttai after settling the Wandiwash affair for three lakhs of rupees, but that it was not known if he would march to Gingee or to Tiruviti by way of Villupuram.

Forty or fifty Maratha horse at six o'clock this morning drove off the cattle at Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry, Karukudikuppam, Kottakuppam and even by the Bound-hedge

near the Madras road. They have burnt Âlankuppam, Kuyilârpâlaiyam, Vânûr and Pilichapallam. The inhabitants have fled in fear. They say their terror is too great to be described or written. But the Marathas are said to have abandoned the cattle and fled when pursued by some of Kônapparangi's people from Muttiraipâlaiyam mettu.

I hear that Morâri Râo has replied that he has ordered the commander[1] of the Maratha army with Muhammad 'Alî Khân not to allow his horsemen to plunder the villages of Pondichery, as they are said to be doing, but to help the Pondichery people and not injure them. This letter is said to have been sent to the jemadar of the Maratha troops in Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp.

The Governor sent for me at seven o'clock to-night and said, 'I hear there is a place called Kâttêri near Wandiwash. The army can only march direct from Wandiwash to Arcot with great difficulty, for they will have to pass over mountains and cultivated fields. Therefore they must move eastwards in order to go to Arcot. A spy has just come in and reported that the troops have reached Kâttêri whence they will proceed to Arcot. Do you know where Kâttêri is?'

[1] This was Innis Khân. Orme, *History*, Vol. I, p. 260.

I replied, 'I do not, but there are people who know the villages thereabouts and I will ask them and inform you.' He said that Madanânda Pandit would know, and told me to send for him. When he came, the Governor asked him. He replied, 'I have heard the name, but I do not know where it is or what villages it adjoins. I shall find some one who knows it.' So saying, he went and fetched a Brâhman, Hari Pandit, and told the Governor that he had lived at Wandiwash and knew those parts well. The [Brâhman] said that the name was Kâttêrikuppam, not Kâttêri; and that it was about three miles north-west of Wandiwash on the road to Arcot. The Governor took him to Madame; and I went to my office.

Monday, October 9.[1]—The Governor's gate was closed till eleven o'clock, so I stayed at my office till noon and then came home.

He sent for me about three o'clock, when I had taken my food. He asked how it was that the Maratha horse ventured so close to the place. I replied, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân, who was at Wandiwash has returned towards Villupuram and those parts on his way to Tiruviti. As he has Marathas with him, they may have marched in advance in order to

[1] *27th Purattâsi, Ângîrasa.*

plunder the country.' The Governor asked where he was. I said that he was near Villupuram. He continued, 'I heard that he was at Sarasangupêttai[1]. Can he have marched to Villupuram so soon? Why such haste?' I replied, 'I hear that the Râjâ of Mysore, Morâri Râo, the Maravar and others have surrounded Trichinopoly in the hope of taking it. Muhammad 'Alî Khân may have received news which makes him march in haste.' The Governor replied, 'I hear that the English took the three lakhs of rupees for the Wandiwash affair, and gave nothing to Muhammad 'Alî Khân, so that they have quarrelled. Is that true?' I replied, 'They must have taken it in payment of their advances for powder, shot, etc. Besides, they say, Taqî Sâhib has not paid the whole three lakhs but only 60,000 or 70,000 or so, and asked time in which to pay the balance, for which he is responsible to Muhammad 'Alî Khân. That is the whole matter, as is well-known. It would have been a serious matter, if he had given a sowcar's bill for the balance.'—'That is Muhammad 'Alî Khân's misfortune,' the Governor said. I replied, 'So is the attack of the Râjâ of Mysore and others upon Trichinopoly, by reason of which Muhammad 'Alî Khân was so troubled that

[1] Not known. Perhaps a corruption of *Nasir Janguvai koura pêttai*, 'the village where Nâsîr Jang was killed.' Cf. pp. 241–242 *infra*.

he departed suddenly and will at last meet with his downfall. Shall his iniquities and those of the English at Wandiwash go in vain? His ruin is certain.' He agreed.

Vinâyaka Pillai then came, and the Governor told him that rice had to be sent to the camp at Valudâvûr and that therefore he must write at once for bullocks and send the rice without delay. He told me to see to it. I said I would do so, and went to my office where I had a garse of rice despatched at once and gave orders to have another ready to be sent to-night. By this time the Governor had sent for me three or four times, to ask if any rice had been sent. I replied, 'According to your orders, I have sent one garse and ordered another to be despatched to-night. It shall go to-night if you will give the necessary orders to the gate-people.' The Governor was pleased at this and gave me an order to permit me to send out rice whenever necessary. The rice has been sent accordingly.

Tuesday, October 10.[1]—When I had reported the news to the Governor this morning, he asked if Mr. Clive had really gone to Madras from Chingleput instead of going to Covelong. I replied, 'I hear that Mr. Clive has gone to Madras, leaving at Chingleput a Muhammadan

[1] *28th Purattâsi, Ângîrasa.*

killedar (whose name I do not know) with 200 Muhammadan and Carnatic people armed with muskets, 20 Europeans and an ensign. At Covelong, he has left only 20 Topasses and Europeans and 40 or 50 sepoys armed with muskets, under an ensign. It is also said that a few English with Zuhûr Khân and Mutta Pillai's man, Kondaikatti Srînivâsan who has lost his ears, have tied *tôranams* in the Covelong taluk of the Chingleput country. A few of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's Muhammadans also went to Covelong and tied *tôranams*, whereon disputes arose and complaints were made to Mr. Saunders at Madras. The Governor ordered Appâji Nayinâr and others at Madras to recall their people, as he was displeased at others exercising authority after *tôranams* had been tied with such difficulty. He has also written to Muhammad 'Alî Khân, saying that the English have not made such efforts to capture the fort and country only to see him manage it, but that they have recalled their people, and he can do as he pleases provided he pays what is due.' Having reported this news, I went to my office.

This evening the Governor sent for me. He said, 'M. Véry writes from Valudâvûr that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops will march to-day to Tiruviti from Villupuram. Is that true? I heard that he was at the village where

Nâsîr Jang was killed. Can he have reached Villupuram and Tiruviti yet?' I replied, 'He really has reached Tiruviti fort. The news is that the Râjâ of Mysore, the Maravar, Morâri Râo, etc., are attacking Trichinopoly. So he set out in haste and means to march to Trichinopoly. We shall see whether this is true.' I continued, 'Some time ago, 1,000 rupees was sent for expenses at Chingleput but could not be got into the fort as the English had surrounded it. It was therefore kept at Sadras. When M. Melon and M. Villéon surrendered Chingleput and went to Sadras, they received a part of it for the late garrison of the fort. 4,000 rupees more has now been received and I have delivered it to Appu. The balance [from Sadras] is still due and I will pay it in as soon as it comes.'—'Good,' the Governor said, 'Appu told me of it. Have the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân made friends again yet?' I replied, 'The English were angry with him at not getting the Wandivash money, and placed English guards all round the place where he had halted; but are now encamped separately. The Marathas too have quarrelled with Muhammad 'Alî Khân and say they will go. So he is trying somehow to make terms with them; and the bowels of his army are shaken with fear, so that it is breaking up. On this he fled. We

shall learn the details to-morrow when he reaches Tiruviti.' I talked with him some time longer, and then went to my office.

Ten or fifteen days ago, Madame gave strict orders about letters passing in and out; then there was a pause; but now she has again ordered the inspection of letters.

Wednesday, October 11.[1]—When I had reported the news to the Governor this morning, I talked about country affairs. He said he did not know what had happened after Muhammad 'Alî Khân's arrival at Tiruviti yesterday. I replied, 'The English are bitterly complaining that their amils are not allowed to manage the country, and that the collections are not paid to them. Muhammad 'Alî Khân's army is clamouring to be paid. He is like a sick man gasping for breath, but who can neither die nor rise and walk. Muhammad 'Alî Khân's play is drawing to an end. He must suffer for his treachery, even as Chandâ Sâhib suffered. His petty success in the last two months, his getting 3 lakhs of rupees at Wandiwash, and his luck in capturing Covelong and Chingleput—all these are but the last flicker of the candle. There is nothing more between him and ruin. I have repeatedly heard the Tamil astrologers

[1] *29th Purattâsi, Ângîrasa.*

say that all his good fortune will be over by next June, and after that little but evil will befall him. The whole country says so. I tell you this as it is my duty to repeat what I hear.' He smiled at this, and I departed to my office.[1]

This ship left Europe in March with money, etc., for Mascareigne. As they had letters from here asking that the soldiers should be sent hither as soon as her cargo had been landed, she was sent on with 170 soldiers and officers for Pondichery, with orders to return with any goods that might be available.

She arrived at three o'clock this evening and landed her soldiers and officers. There are 1,000 bales ready for Europe but there has been no ship for them ; now it has been decided to lade them to-morrow or the day after, and despatch her in 10 or 15 days. This ship brought no silver.

She is the *Bristol*, commander, M. Surville, and she is quite small. The captain said that the *Prince* had received orders to sail a week before he left Europe in March.[2] M. Miran said the [captain] had told him that the ship had touched at Mauritius whence she sailed for Pondichery on September 2.

[1] Apparently there is some omission.
[2] The *Prince* was lost on the voyage.

Thursday, October 12.[1]—I went to the Governor's this morning; but as he slept till ten o'clock, I went to my office.

M. Le Blanc, the killedar of Covelong, who is as great a sinner as he who sold God for 30 pieces of silver, and M. Melon who was at Chingleput with M. St. Germain and M. Villéon, went to Sadras after surrendering their forts to the English. They arrived at Pondichery this morning by boat, and desired to see the Governor; but the latter was asleep and his door was closed. M. Le Blanc, hoping to prevent my bearing witness to his treachery, came to see me. M. Melon accompanied him, partly because he wanted to see me and partly because he desires my friendship which may be of use to him hereafter. I received them with respect and enquired after their health. They related what had happened and the surrender of the forts; to which I returned compliments. They said they could not resist the will of God, and talked for about an hour. When we heard that the Governor had awakened and the door was open, we went thither together. They paid their respects to him, and I did likewise. They told him about Mr. Clive's arrival, the attack, and the

[1] *30th Purattâsi,Ângîrasa.*

surrender of the forts. The Governor spoke angrily to M. Le Blanc, and ordered him to go away. He did so, and went into M. Bertrand's writing room, and, after talking with him, went to his lodgings. The Governor talked with M. Melon for about an hour. The latter declared he had lost everything; but the Governor comforted him and told him to go to his quarters. I reported the news and then went to my office with M. Melon, found lodgings for him, gave him food and clothing, and desired him to go to his lodgings. I came home at noon.

Friday, October 20.[1]—I hear to-day that the Governor and Madame spoke definitely with pride to Krishnâchâri, a Tadwâdi Brâhman,[2] who is Morâri Râo's vakîl that, as Morâri Râo's army was coming without him, $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs of rupees a month should be paid, that on the arrival of the army, one lakh should be given with another lakh and presents on Morâri Râo's arrival, and two lakhs more when Morâri Râo departs. The agreement was written out and the Governor and Madame promised and swore to keep it, in token of which the Governor and Madame dipped their

[1] *8th Arppisi, Ângîrasa.*
[2] A Brâhman skilled in logic or philosophy.

fingers in red and touched the paper.[1] The Brâhman vakîl was then despatched.

When Sâmâ Râo, Morâri Râo's old vakîl, perceived that his master's business was being transacted by Krishnâchâri, and as he wished the Bishop Padre[2] to manage it instead of Pâpayya Pillai, he sent Appâji Râo to the Bishop Padre, saying that the Bishop would earn great honour if he would settle Morâri Râo's business for 50,000 rupees more than had been obtained. The Padre agreed and said that he would certainly do so if a letter were obtained from Morâri Râo. I believe Sâmâ Râo did not think fit to write a full account of this affair, but sent his Brâhman to Morâri Râo to relate it and obtain a letter to the Padre.

As the Maravar and others in the south have been troubling the country up to Dindigul, Nandi Râjâ of Mysore, with his own and Morâri Râo's armies, camped at Karûr and wrote recalling Innis Khân, the paymaster, who is with Muhammad 'Alî Khân. Innis Khân intends to take leave of Muhammad 'Alî Khân and march with his men to-day or to-morrow.

[1] This recalls Orme's remark (which Wilks could not corroborate) regarding the hand-print on the back of a letter from the Dalavâi. 'A form equivalent with the Mysoreans to an oath.' (*History*, Vol. I, p. 348.)

[2] *i.e.*, Antonio Noronha, titular bishop of Halicarnassus.

Saturday, October 28.[1]—A strange thing happened to-day :—Muttayyan, younger brother of Ranga Pillai (the Governor's writer) has been confined to his house, with an abscess in the back for a month and a half. On Thursday, the day before yesterday, Madame went to his house, as though to enquire after his health ; she remarked that the Governor had never before enquired after the health of his servants when they were sick, and spoke of his obtaining salvation. She went to him again yesterday, and, calling Ranga Pillai, told him that something must be done to save his soul. Ranga Pillai replied, 'Madame, not so. We have many relations who will outcaste us ; so I cannot agree.' But Madame persisted and said that he must be converted and his soul released from sin. When Ranga Pillai answered that he would consult his relations, she said, 'Very well,' and went away. Now Ranga Pillai's relations demanded of him how this could be done without disgrace ; so Ranga Pillai sent word by Ignace the Topass, that he could not comply with her desire. When Ignace informed Madame, she said nothing, but hearing that evening that he was worse, she went to Ranga Pillai's house, beat and drove away the people there, said

[1] *16th Arppisi, Ângîrasa.*

mantrams over him, all unconscious as he was, and anointed him with oil according to the custom. But Ranga Pillai and the rest cried aloud that injustice could not be done. He went to the Governor and said, 'Sir, if this be done, our relations will outcaste us. So pray have us excused.' But the Governor said in anger, 'What does it matter to you? Why hinder the salvation of his soul?' When Ranga Pillai fell at his feet and besought him, the Governor took up a cane and made to beat him; so Ranga Pillai departed, saying, 'Let them do what they will.' But the Governor had sent four catechists, two chobdars and four peons to his house. Ranga Pillai said, 'Why is my house thus beset? Let him be carried where they please.' I hear they answered that the house was not his but Muttayyan's; and the catechists, peons and chobdars remain guarding the house, and prevent any of his people from entering it. Ranga Pillai passed the night in my cattle-shed which is opposite his house.

Sunday, October 29.[1]—The catechists, chobdars and peons posted last night over Ranga Pillai's house, remained there till three o'clock to-day, preventing all from entering.

Last night Madame sent word to the St. Paul's priests to baptize Muttayyan; but they

[1] *17th Arppisi, Ângirasa.*

replied that they could not do so, as people would say it was by compulsion, because he did not agree. As the Padres had not appeared at three o'clock to-day, at four Madame sent thither an ivory palankin with her own bearers, ten peons, a head-peon, two chobdars and four Christians, to carry Muttayyan to Tânappa Mudali's house; but Tânappa Mudali would not receive him, so he was carried to the catechist Arulânandan's in Mîrâpalli. Madame again sent word to the St. Paul's priests, that Muttayyan had been removed to a Christian house, and that they should deliver him from his sins; but they replied that he had not signed what was needed before baptism, and that what had been done had been accomplished by force. She then sent for the Capuchins, but they also said the same. At last she went with Father Antony of Mylapore, the newly appointed Bishop, to the Catechist's house, where they lit candles and performed all the customary rites at the time of death. I hear that peons and spies have been ordered to disguise themselves as beggars and go from door to door, to find out what people are saying about this.

Muttayyan attained heaven at seven o'clock to-night. Hearing this the Governor's wife ordered the corpse to be carried to another place and said she would come next morning to bury

it with all ceremony. The corpse was therefore removed to another Christian's house.

Since the 6th. I have been too unwell to go out; but this morning the Governor sent for me six or seven times to come at once. I thought I could not delay longer, and I went to my office. I have written in my diary of yesterday and the day before about Madame's underhand conduct in converting Muttayyan, younger brother of Ranga Pillai, son of Ânaiya Pillai, and carrying him at the last gasp in a palankin to a Christian's house in Mîrâpalli, and his death yesterday. To-day men and women were informed of his funeral and bidden to follow the corpse to the cemetery; she herself with 5 or 6 soldiers and 4 of the Body-guard went to Mîrâpalli, where she put the corpse in her son's ivory palankin in the Christian manner, with boys bearing tapers, priests reading from the Sacred Books, music and the firing of crackers.

I went to the Governor's when I heard that he had awakened, dressed, and taken coffee, and that the door had been opened. He was alone, walking up and down the hall on the south. On seeing me, he sat down in an armchair and laid aside his glasses and the book he was reading on a chair near by. He asked if I was better. I replied I had recovered by his favour.

NOVEMBER 1752.

Saturday, November 4.[1]—I heard the following news to-day from Nâganna Nâyakkan, Vallabhu Sundarar's gumastah who has received a letter from the gumastah at the bazaar in Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân's camp. He says :—'As soon as Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân reached Aurangabad, Salabat Jang sent Saiyid Lashkar Khân to Sau Bhâji Râo, Bhâji Râo's son, to ask his help. Saiyid Lashkar Khân went and conferred with him. Bhâji Râo then set out with Saiyid Lashkar Khân and came to Aurangabad, where he spoke with Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân. Sau Bhâji Râo and Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân resolved to offer Salabat Jang Berar, but the latter replied that he was resolved to rule his father's subah, that he would not content himself with Berar, and that he would rather fight. The killedar of the Hyderabad fort refused to admit Europeans into the fort, or to give up the treasure without the Pâdshâh's permission; Salabat Jang then put on a false air of friendship towards the killedar and persuaded him of his sincerity by exchanging visits; at last he invited the killedar, his people and other nobles to a feast, imprisoned him on their

[1] *23rd Arppisi, Ângîrasa.*

arrival, seized the killa, stationed M. Bussy and other Europeans there, posted guards and sent in abundance of guns, mortars, etc., with powder, shot, etc., muskets, swords, and spears, with provisions for the people. Thus he strengthened the fort, and then he marched forth with 5,000 or 6,000 horse and foot that he had with him, and a few Europeans and guards. He pitched his camp outside, made ready some guns and other munitions of war, garrisoned the fort with Europeans, and himself remained in the camp outside. On this Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân and Sau Bhâji Râo marched with a lakh of horsemen, all ready for battle, from Aurangabad, and reached a place four days' journey this side at the rate of 5 miles a day. All will happen as God wills.' Nâganna Nâyakkan added that Gôvardhana Dâs's gumastahs and Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji's gumastahs had received similar letters. Moreover Coja Qalandar Khân's letter to me from Masulipatam contained the same news as Nâganna Nâyakkan told me. So undoubtedly this is true.

Friday, November 10.[1]—Nâganna Nâyakkan, Vallabhu Sundarar's gumastah, came to me at eight o'clock to-night when I was in my office and said :—' A peon with a letter from

[1] *29th Arppisi, Ângirasa.*

Golconda was taken before the Governor by one of the peons on the road. When the Governor learnt that the letter was from Golconda, he took it and sent for me. He showed me the cover and asked if it was for me. I read the address and saw that it was. He then told me to open it and tell him what it said about Salabat Jang. I therefore read it and informed him as follows:—When Salabat Jang had seized the fort of Hyderabad, he marched to Bidar, a strong place ten leagues off, with his uncle, our Europeans, sepoys, etc., 5,000 or 6,000 musket-people and 10,000 horse, and is camped there. Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân, Bhâji Râo and others have left Aurangabad with 60,000 or 70,000 horse and have marched ten stages. As both sides are resolved on war, a battle is certain, but all will happen according to God's will. I added that the letter also related the business of the bazaar. The Governor and Madame then dismissed me, promising gifts if we were the first to bring good news of Salabat Jang. I answered that we had come only to report the news. The Governor complimented me, talked of various affairs, and then dismissed me.'

About nine o'clock this morning news came of Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân's departure from Delhi with a lakh of horse to attack Salabat Jang with Bhâji Râo's help, and rule the

Deccan subahs, his arrival at Aurangabad, and his march towards Hyderabad to attack Salabat Jang who is encamped there. He halted at a place four stages this side of Aurangabad. Thereupon Salabat Jang sent word to the kitchen-people who served Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân's food, that he would give them a lakh or two, if they poisoned Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân's food so that he perished. The kitchen-people did accordingly. Bukkanji Kâsi Dâs's gumastahs there have written thus to his gumastah, Sivasankara Tarwâdi, at Cuddalore and Fort St. David, saying that Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân fell sick on tasting the food and died on the third day. Sivasankara Tarwâdi wrote to Âchâram Tarwâdi who is here. The latter went to the Governor's to inform him; but, as he was asleep, he came to my office, and told me. He said that, as the news had not yet been related to the Governor I should tell no one. He then went to the Governor's, and told him, as soon as he woke up, the details of Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân's death. I hear that the Governor is overjoyed at this. At first he ordered sugar to be distributed to the townspeople, salutes to be fired, and a present given to Âchâram Tarwâdi who had brought the news. But afterwards he postponed this until he had received letters from M. Bussy, etc., at Salabat Jang's camp. As I was coming home at noon

in my palankin, Madanânda Pandit came and told me the above, adding that the Governor was transported with joy. 'I am glad,' I said, and came home.

Sunday, November 26.[1]—To-day I heard that Bhavânisankara Tarwâdi, Bukkanji Kâsi Dâs's gumastah at Fort St. David, has written to Âchâram Tarwâdi here the following news:—

'Mr. Lawrence, the Englishman who came here from Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp with 200 or 300 soldiers and what ammunition, etc., he had, yesterday marched back to Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp with the soldiers who came with him, munitions of war, and seven guns. Moreover when Salabat Jang heard the news of Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân's death, he marched from Mômunipêttai to Aurangabad, and wrote to Muhammad 'Alî Khân confirming him in the Arcot subah, promising him the declaratory parwâna, and the Fish-standard, etc. honours, giving him the title of "Anwar-ud-dîn Khân Bahâdûr." He directed him to guard the country and live in peace. Muhammad 'Alî Khân has replied that, after the rains, he proposes to go to Madras or Chêtpattu. When Salabat Jang sent Sânôji Nimbâlakar and Saiyid Lashkar Khân

[1] *15th Kârttigai, Āngîrasa.*

to Bhâji Râo to request his help, Bhâji Râo wished to detain them. Saiyid Lashkar Khân escaped but the other was seized. Hanumanta Râo, a Maratha sardâr, and Râjâ Râmachandran (son of Râjâ Chandrasênan) then begged his release from Bhâji Râo, and these two with Sânôji went to Aurangabad to settle affairs there in consequence of the death of Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân. They then marched against Salabat Jang and are camped opposite to him.'

When Subba Râo, Morâri Râo's vakîl, returned seven or eight days ago to Morâri Râo, having taken leave of the Governor and obtained an agreement for Morâri Râo's alliance, the Governor wrote to Morâri Râo as follows:—'Mu'tabar Khân, Husain Sâhib's son, who occupies Ranjangudi under Vâlikondâpuram, had a certain amount of Sarkar money and goods which were passing to and from camp before Trichinopoly. He has betrayed us by delivering them to the English.[1] Moreover he has paid only a part of his dues and still owes a lakh or a lakh and a half of rupees. When therefore you march this way with your troops, attack this rascally bastard at Ranjangudi, lay waste his country, and take his fort in revenge for his treachery. He

[1] Probably plunder taken from d'Auteuil's army when forced to surrender in the previous May.

must make good what he has taken from us. You shall have half the plunder that is taken, if you bring him in a prisoner.'

Tuesday, November 28.[1]—At ten o'clock this morning, when the Governor had waked up, I paid my respects and reported the news. He asked what I had heard about Muhammad 'Alî Khân. I replied, 'It seems there is disagreement between him and the English, perhaps because he has to pay them a lakh of rupees every month. He cannot continue this now. Formerly the Mysore people paid him sums amounting to 40 or 50 lakhs, so that he fared sumptuously. Moreover the English often helped him, whereby Mr. Saunders, Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Clive and others made great profit. But now that has ceased. Moreover no money has come from Europe, and the English have nothing to give him. So they have ceased their help. Lingha Chetti's and Kumarappa Chetti's houses at Cuddalore have been made ready for Muhammad 'Alî Khân and his property has been lodged there. Mr. Lawrence, etc., have reached Fort St. David with the European troops; and Muhammad 'Alî Khân, I hear, will arrive in two or three days. 'Abd-ul-wahâb, his younger brother, who left Arcot and went to Tiruvallûr, has

[1] *17th Kârttigai, Ângîrasa.*

seized the country of Bakht-ul-lah who went against Nellore ; he has obtained the fort of Nellore. Muhammad Kamâl, Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's son by a concubine, who was in the fort, gave it up and has gone to Kôvûr, having taken a cowle. When 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân learnt the death of Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân, he wrote from Tiruvallûr, on his way to Nellore, asking for Sampâti Râo's presence and designed to march to Nellore after consulting him. But the English sent people to intercept him and hinder him from proceeding until he had paid their dues.' When I said that this was true news which had just been received, he agreed and said his people had been withdrawn from the parganahs. He then went to Madame. I went to the sorting godown.

DECEMBER 1752.

Monday, December 18.[1]—I heard to-day that last night Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English had attacked our camp at Bâhûr and inflicted heavy losses so that out of 300 of our people only ten or twenty had escaped to Pondichery. I reported this to the Governor at eight o'clock.

I hear that Nâganna Nâyakkan, Vallabhu Sundarar's gumastah, has received the following news dated 17 days ago, from Salabat Jang's camp at Bidar:—

A battle was fought by Bhâji Râo, Mulhari Holkar and others against Salabat Jang. After strengthening his army, Bhâji Râo again attacked Salabat Jang, having posted 30,000 horse in front, 30,000 in the rear and 30,000 in the middle—90,000 in all. The 30,000 in front attacked and surrounded Salabat Jang's army, who in alarm kept within their camp for two or three days so that they could make ready their artillery, arms and ammunition. While the camp was thus besieged, even two rupees would not buy a seer of rice. Salabat Jang being struck with anxiety, after meditation, offered terms to Bhâji Râo and wrote as follows:—'My father,

[1] *7th Mârgali, Ângîrasa.*

Nizâm-ul-mulk, and you were close friends, and you helped him in all matters, without even withdrawing your army from him. He has died, and after him, Nâsîr Jang, my elder brother. At last Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân has also perished. I alone remain, and, if my lips too are silenced, our name will be obliterated. That this may not come to pass, be my friend as of old, nay, ten times more a friend, even as I will be to you.' Bhâji Râo, reflecting that, as Salabat Jang now wished for peace, he must have come to his senses, replied as follows:—'You ask me to remember our former friendship and make peace with you. This gives me great joy. We shall be at peace.' So the fighting ceased, and they exchanged visits. After some conversation, Bhâji Râo said to Salabat Jang:—'For long, our army helped you. If now you need assistance, shall we refuse? So why keep Topasses to help you? I will leave troops with you and we will be at peace.' Salabat Jang then promised Bhâji Râo Khandesh, Berar and Punâla and other countries under Burhanpur, excepting the town of Burhanpur itself, as a jaghir. Then Bhâji Râo and Salabat Jang proposed to enter Mysore, as the King had not paid the tribute-money for ten or twelve years. But when they heard of the death of Târâ Bai at Satâra, the Nânâ set out for Satâra, leaving Mulhari

Râo Holkar and 10,000 horse with Salabat Jang. He, Mulhari Râo Holkar, etc., propose to invade Mysore.

Wednesday, December 20.[1]—I heard this morning that Murtazâ 'Alî Khân had sent to the Governor the following news-letter from Vellore:—On the 9th Muharram (corresponding with 3rd Kârttigai) a battle was fought between Bhâji Râo and Salabat Jang. Both suffered heavy losses. As Salabat Jang had French help, Bhâji Râo thought that he could never overthrow him; so he wrote offering terms, and proposed that if M. Bussy were sent to him, he would do as he desired. He also sent a vakîl. Salabat Jang agreed and sent M. Bussy with Shafi'i Sikandar Khân and other sardârs and nobles, to arrange peace. Bhâji Râo sent Mulhari Holkar, his son Appâji Holkar, and other sardârs, to go some 5 miles to meet M. Bussy and escort him in. So M. Bussy and Shafi'i Sikandar Khân met Mulhari Holkar and Appâji Holkar and embraced, enquired after each other's health, and proceeded to Sau Bhâji Râo's camp. Bhâji Râo went out to the naubat-khana, embraced M. Bussy, received him with great respect and took him to his tent, where they sat down and discussed what was necessary to make peace.

[1] *9th Mârgali, Ângîrasa.*

He kept M. Bussy two or three days, and then gave him a feast costing 2,000 rupees, and presents as follows :—

women's lace-cloths, 7;

a chain with a pendant;

a *kalgi turra*;

a pearl necklace;

an elephant with its howdah;

a caparisoned horse, its trappings embroidered with birds of paradise.

After these presents had been given to M. Bussy, Shafi'i Sikandar Khân was given cloth and jewels, four articles in number.

Bhâji Râo's sardârs and nobles gave each 500 rupees for a feast to M. Bussy, and each gave him a dress of honour and a horse. M. Bussy then took leave and returned to Salabat Jang with Bhâji Râo's vakîl. He then related the details of what had taken place. It was arranged to pitch a tent midway between Salabat Jang's *lashkar* and Bhâji Râo's wherein the two princes might meet. When they had gone thither, Bhâji Râo presented a nazar to Salabat Jang, and then they conversed. Bhâji Râo asked Salabat Jang if he would fulfil Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân's promises. Salabat Jang agreed. Bhâji Râo then promised not to recall the 25,000 horse he had in Salabat Jang's service. During the war between the Marathas and Salabat Jang, Saiyid

Lashkar Khân had taken refuge in a fort five leagues from Pâlaki; but afterwards Salabat Jang sent for him, and on his arrival proposes to attack Mysore, with the help of 25,000 horse under Mulhari Holkar and others. It has also been agreed that these shall have half the tribute that may be collected.

Later the Governor sent for me, and related what Murtazâ 'Alî Khân had written about the peace between Salabat Jang and the Nânâ, but complained that nothing was said about Salabat Jang's being accompanied by 25,000 Maratha horse under Mulhari Râo or his sending for Saiyid Lashkar Khân; either it had been forgotten or the interpreters had left it out. I thus paid him my compliments, saying, 'You enjoy the good fortune of kings. As you sent an army to help Salabat Jang, what wonder that they overthrew the Marathas? You will assuredly conquer the Pâdshâh himself and sit upon his throne, and at the sound of your name, Pâdshâh, viziers, and nobles, Mussalman and Hindu alike, all tremble. Your glory dazzles like a million suns.' He was delighted with my words. Afterwards taking me up to the first story of the *Gouvernement*, he showed the hall plated with silver, containing the great mirror that has come from Europe and with the windows hung with green velvet curtains

fringed with lace. 'Is not this fine?' he exclaimed. I replied, 'Sir, the longer I behold the *Gouvernement*, the greater is my wonder. Howbeit such a palace is but worthy of you.' Hearing my words with great joy, he continued to speak about it. We then talked of other matters. At last, I took leave and came away.

Thursday, December 21.[1]—The following letter has been received from Varadappa Nâyakkan, son of Mannâru Nâyakkan at Vellore :—'I took leave of you in order to go to Gingee; but as M. Le Gris had gone to Vellore, I came hither. He was sent here with 13 soldiers by the Governor to make ready the Vellore fort. Nawâb Murtazâ 'Alî Khân has written to the Governor, and he is making guns ready to oppose the English who are marching against this place. The Governor wrote to me to procure the escape of the 50 Frenchmen and 3 officers who were imprisoned at Arcot. I sent men about this business to the Nawâb and to the Europeans; but when all was ready, the English learnt it, chained the men two and two together, and at nine o'clock on the morning of December 10, sent the 3 officers by palankin to Madras with an escort of 200 sepoys, 50 Europeans, and 2 guns.[2]

[1] *10th Mârgali, Āngirasa.*

[2] Cf. *French Correspondence*, 1752, pp. 117-118, and the letters from Pascaud, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 and 135.

The Nawâb is making guns ready for battle. I think he will attack Arcot when he receives the Governor's orders after Morâri Râo's arrival. At midnight on December 9, the Nawâb received a letter from Salabat Jang. He wrote that there had been two battles, one on the 8th Muharram, and the other on the 9th.[1] Mulhari Holkar, the Maratha who came from Delhi with 40,000 horse, joined Bhâji Râo and persuaded him to break the agreement that had been made, declaring that he had a lakh and a half of horse and that the Pâdshâh at Delhi was powerless. So he attacked. 1,000 or 1,500 horses and many Marathas were killed. Mulhari Holkar himself was wounded; and about 400 of our Europeans also fell.[2] Then Bhâji Râo offered terms. M. Bussy, Nâmat-ūl-lah Khân, Shafi'i Sikandar Khân and Mu'tabar Khân visited Bhâji Râo, who gave to M. Bussy an elephant, a horse with silver trappings, a *sarpêch*, a pendant, a pearl necklace, a pair of pearl ear-rings and four jewels; and to the three nobles he gave dresses of honour. Then he dismissed them. Salabat Jang offered Bhâji Râo half his country, the Burhanpur country and others, and 35 *per cent.* of the Arcot revenues, provided he would do as M. Bussy advised. M. Bussy intends to march

[1] November 15 and 16.
[2] *i.e.*, about as many Europeans as Bussy had with him altogether!

to Seringapatam or Pondichery according to the Governor's orders. Salabat Jang wrote to the Nawâb, that the Maratha Raghôji would be sent to Pondichery with 25,000 horse. I arrived here on the fourteenth day, and wrote this for your honour's information. Wherever I be, I am your slave, and shall prosper so far as you deem me yours. Remember this, therefore, and send me your commands. Our Muzaffar Khân, who was at Kandanûr, made terms with Bhâji Râo and joined him on receiving a lakh and a half of rupees.[1] After Bhâji Râo and M. Bussy had made peace, Muzaffar Khân was cast into chains and imprisoned by M. Bussy. The peace was made near Ilakki,[2] Râjâ Chandrasênan's country. Salabat Jang has bestowed on M. Bussy the title of Ghazanfar Jang.'

Friday, December 22.[3]—Bâlâji Ghorpadê (Morâri Râo's man), Nârô Pandit, Gôvinda Râo, Subba Râo, Krishnâchâri, and others who arrived last night, visited the Governor at ten o'clock this morning. Pâpayya Pillai and Madanânda Pandit met them at the Fort-gate and conducted them into the presence of the Governor and Madame. Morâri Râo's letter was then delivered to the Governor with a list

[1] Reading *rûpâ* for *sipâ*.

[2] *Quere*, Pâlaki.

[3] *11th Mârgali, Angirasa.*

of his 22 demands. When they had said their say, the Governor told them to return this afternoon, when he would discuss matters with them, and write an answer to Morâri Râo. Then they were given rosewater and *pân supârî* and dismissed to their lodgings.

Bâlâji Ghorpadê, Nârô Pandit, Gôvinda Râo, Subba Râo, Krishnâchâri and others visited the Governor at three o'clock this afternoon. Pâpayya Pillai and Madanânda Pandit were present. I hear the following passed about the treaty to be concluded between the Governor and Morâri Râo. The latter demands a jaghir besides certain forts, a lease of certain countries, and the Sîrpi, Yadiki and Tadpatri countries in jaghir. When the list of 22 demands was given to the Governor, he agreed to them all except the grant of the Sîrpi, Yadiki and Tadpatri countries. They then asked instead that these should be given on lease; he answered that he would not give Sîrpi but would consider giving Yadiki and Tadpatri on lease, if that would satisfy them. They agreed, and said, regarding the Arcot chauth, that by his treaty to the northward with Bhâji Râo, Salabat Jang had agreed to grant it and that Fatteh Singh, etc., were coming with 20,000 horse. The Governor replied that, in spite of their coming, he would give Morâri Râo, the Carnatic chauth, on condition

that he assisted to drive them out. The Maratha vakîls then asked about the sowcar's bond. The Governor agreed to pay a lakh and a quarter of rupees a month, besides the present agreed upon, one lakh immediately and another lakh in a month. He also agreed to give elephants, horses and jewels set with rubies as presents at the meeting, to send M. Albert (the Councillor) and Pâpayya Pillai to meet Morâri Râo at Tiruvakkarai, and to receive him with such respect as was shown to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân during his visit. Both parties took oath to perform this, setting their finger marks in saffron on the treaty. The Governor also wrote to Morâri Râo asking him to move from Pâdirâppuliyûr to Tiruvakkarai. He also asked Bâlâji Ghorpadê and others to write similar letters. He gave a gate-pass for the letters to be carried by a camel-driver and ten horsemen, whom he ordered to make ready. He gave Bâlâji Râo a chain with a pendant, a piece of broad-cloth and a dress of honour; Nârô Pandit, Gôvinda Râo and Subba Râo, received a piece of broad-cloth and a dress of honour each. Without Bâlâji Râo's knowledge, the Governor and Madame privately called Nârô Pandit, Gôvinda Râo and Subba Râo aside and told them if they could by any means secure Morâri Râo's assistance, they should be gratified. They

were then dismissed to their lodgings. At ten o'clock to-night the camel-driver and horsemen were despatched, but found the gate closed, and the officer there refused to let them out. So they returned to Bâlâji Râo's lodgings.

I think the Governor was overhasty in promising to show the same respect to Morâri Râo as was shown to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân. But we shall see what he actually does.

Friday, December 29.[1]—I hear that the following news, 18 days old, has been received by Nâganna Nâyakkan, Gôvardhana Dâs's gumastah, from Salabat Jang's camp :—When Salabat Jang was about to march to settle the Carnatic, Bhâji Râo asked why he should go thither, and offered to send his own army. When Salabat Jang persisted, Bhâji Râo replied that Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân had granted him the Carnatic, and, desiring him to confirm the grant, proposed that he himself should march to settle it, while Salabat Jang proceeded to Aurangabad. Salabat Jang could not oppose his words, so he marched with his army towards Aurangabad and halted at Avasippudigâi, while Bhâji Râo encamped at Aminabad, six kos from Avasippudigâi. Bhâji Râo's younger brother, Raghunâtha Râo, and

[1] 18th Mârgali, Ângîrasa.

Sadâsiva Râo are at Bidar with 30.000 horse on their way to the Carnatic.

As it was decided to send M. Barthélemy to take charge of Kârikâl, I visited him. I also sent for Appâji Ayyan and Mangâchiyâ Pillai, the gumastahs of the Company's Kârikâl merchants, and told them to get a set of gold buttons worth 50 pagodas for the occasion of their visit. I requested M. Barthélemy with compliments to protect the Company's Kârikâl merchants and assist their business. He promised to do so. I also asked him to treat my Kandappan at Kârikâl with kindness, and mentioned other matters also. He agreed, and desired me to write a letter to Kandappan for him to take. I therefore showed him a letter (of which I have kept a copy) containing the details of what I had mentioned, had it sealed, and then gave it him. I also gave him a letter for the merchants, paid my respects, and came away.

JANUARY 1753.

Monday, January 1.[1]—I hear to-day that our people have seized a letter from Sau Bhâji Râo on its way to Pratâb Singh, Râjâ of Tanjore, and have brought the harkaras before the Governor. He ordered them to stand aside while he read it. It says :—'I have made peace with the Pondichery General Sâhib. You should be one with him and act as he desires. Moreover, although Chandâ Sâhib owed the Sarkar large sums, you knowingly joined the enemy Muhammad 'Alî Khân, and slew Chandâ Sâhib for which you are answerable. If now you take off the head of Muhammad 'Alî Khân, the causer of disturbances, your fault will be taken away. Otherwise you remain responsible. Therefore know this and behave with wisdom.' When he had read this, the Governor in delight sent for the two harkaras and gave them two rupees each. He ordered a copy of the letter to be taken and the messengers to be sent off by boat so as to reach Kârikâl this evening with their letter. He promised ten rupees to the boat-people if the letter were delivered without delay. He also wrote and despatched a letter to M. Barthélemy, the chief of Kârikâl, ordering

[1] *21st Mârgali, Ângîrasa.*

the Râjâ of Tanjore's letter to be forwarded at once.

Ilyas Khân to-day visited Pâpayya Pillai and demanded the balance still due to Morâri Râo. Pâpayya Pillai replied that he ought to have ten *per cent.* on what Morâri Râo received and offered to pay the balance with that deduction. Ilyas Khân replied angrily, 'Did you arrange the matter for us? We settled it for ourselves with M. Albert as interpreter. Why should we give you any thing?' So they began to quarrel violently, and Ilyas Khân taking off his shoe, offered to beat Pâpayya Pillai. Then Guntûr Bâli Chetti intervened, and agreed to pay the balance himself, thus pacifying both, and saying that Pâpayya Pillai had nothing to do with the matter. Thereupon Ilyas Khân departed.

To-day the Governor received a letter from Sau Bhâji Râo. I hear it runs as follows:— 'Peace has been made with Salabat Jang; I have sent Raghôba with 30,000 horse to settle the Carnatic. You should therefore assist him. I and Salabat Jang are advancing upon Mysore.' The Governor was overjoyed at this, gave the messengers 40 rupees and two turbans, and ordered a reply to be written.

Muzaffar Khân has written two letters, one to his family and the other to me, saying that he had retired, in disgust at the conduct of the

mutineers, with 16 troopers to the camp of Bhâji Râo, who maintained him; that when Bhâji Râo desired him to return to the Carnatic, he replied that he had come in high position but had lost everything and therefore could not return; on which Bhâji Râo promised to give him whatever he needed, as usual, so he had consented.

Morâri Râo's vakîl, Subba Râo, went to the Governor to-day, and complained that Pâpayya Pillai had not paid all that was due and that he had given a bond for a lakh and a half of rupees for the present. The Governor angrily struck the table with his hand and sent three peons to fetch Pâpayya Pillai. When he came, the Governor asked him why he had not paid the full amount due to Morâri Râo and whether he had had orders to write a lakh and a half when only a lakh had been promised. Pâpayya Pillai replied that he had paid the amount all but a small balance, that he had sent to Ilyas Khân about the payment, and that he had never written a lakh and a half in the matter of the present. Then in the Governor's very presence he and Subba Râo abused each other. Subba Râo told Pâpayya Pillai that till lately he had lived by begging and that he had only come by wealth by the Governor's favour. As it had been arranged that Ilyas Khân should come and tell the

Governor that Pâpayya Pillai had paid the amount, he now did so, and thus Subba Râo and Pâpayya Pillai made it up. The Governor told Ilyas Khân that in ten days he would give him whatever money he wanted, and asked him to write to Morâri Râo to bring Muhammad 'Alî Khân's head with him. Then Ilyas Khân, Pâpayya Pillai, Subba Râo and the rest departed.

Wednesday, January 31.[1]—I hear the Governor had news this afternoon that our army encamped near Tiruviti had attacked Muhammad 'Alî Khân's army. Muhammad 'Alî Khân, the English, etc., being unable to resist, fled towards Fort St. David. Our people are besieging the small party left in Tiruviti fort and will take the fort. Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, vakîl of Nandi Râjâ of Mysore, has received the same news and informed the Governor. The Mysore vakîl also told the Governor that the Râjâ of Mysore, by tricking the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân, had taken the fort of Trichinopoly, imprisoned some and killed the rest. The Mysoreans have entertained the 100 French soldiers formerly imprisoned there, and have posted them at the fort gates and on the batteries. All are rejoicing at this. I also was rejoicing at this news, having gone to the nut-godown, when

1 *22nd Tai, Ângîrasa*

the Governor's peon called me. It was six o'clock. The Governor, his wife, M. du Bausset, M. Le Blanc and other Europeans were in the hall on the east side of the Governor's house, with Venkatanâranappayyan, vakîl of Nandi Râjâ of Mysore. On seeing me, he came towards me and asked what news I had had from Tiruviti. I told him (as I have written above) the news about Tiruviti and Trichinopoly. He replied, 'M. Dusaussaye[1] writes that Muhammad 'Alî Khân and his army with the English, Mr. Lawrence, etc., abandoned Tiruviti and marched eastwards towards Fort St. David. When they had gone about four miles, the Maratha horse having learnt of this, fell upon Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops with great fury and M. Dusaussaye was marching as well. Half an hour ago, when I was watching upstairs, I heard musketry and cannon from Tiruppâdirippuliyûr and Tiruvêndipuram and could even see the flashes. We must find out. Further news will explain everything.' I said that that was true.

He then said carelessly, 'The Mysore people have taken the fort by a stratagem, released a hundred of our people who were imprisoned by Muhammad 'Alî Khân, and are now employing them to guard the fort. But they only took it by a trick.' He talked thus for half an

[1] Appointed Ensign 1733; promoted Sous-lieutenant in 1741; Captain 1750.

hour, and then went downstairs. I went with him, and we saw Muhammad Tavakkal and other Muhammadans. The Governor asked him if he had heard the news about Tiruviti and the fate of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's army. He replied, 'I am always praying God to bless you with victory, that we may live happily under your shadow. I hear that Muhammad 'Alî Khân has fled and that our people have taken Tiruviti.' The Governor asked if he had heard that here or had received the news from outside. He said that he had no people going to and fro and that he had only repeated the news received here. 'Then, it may not be true,' the Governor said; 'we must wait awhile.' He then went away. I went to the nut-godown and thence came home at half-past eight.

I heard at nine o'clock to-night that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had reached Fort St. David with his army, and that our people were attacking Tiruviti fort.

I heard to-day that 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân and the English had attacked Ayyan Sâstri, the amaldâr of Tiruvottiyûr, Kondavetti Srînivâsan and Pîr Muhammad (Abu-Muhammad's younger brother) who had with them 2,000 foot, that they were unable to resist and fled to Chêtpattu, losing 300 muskets and 4 cannon. Their sepoys fled in all directions.

FEBRUARY 1753.

Saturday, February 10.[1]—On January 1, the inhabitants of Covelong, Taiyûr, Semmanjêri and other villages, with the assistance of tank-diggers from Madras, were compelled to dig pits at seven o'clock at night at the foot of the northern wall of the fort, 4 cubits apart; and by midnight they had dug out nearly a third of the wall.[2] Next day when this was done, barrels of gunpowder were buried in them and kept in position by logs of the tamarind trees that had been cut down in the town. In the next five days pits were similarly dug in the eastern wall, filled with barrels of powder and propped up with logs of tamarind. The same was done in the western wall in five days; in the south wall the same also in the same time, but the parts about the gate were left intact. Thus in 19 days (*sic*) pits were dug all round the fort, and barrels of powder buried, and covered with logs of tamarind. Then the cannon, etc., in the fort were sent to Madras by catamarans, and the north wall was blown up by a train, and then the west wall; but in the east wall, the place where the flag-staff

[1] *3rd Mâsi Angîrasa.*

[2] The razing of Covelong fort was reported to be a matter of more than usual difficulty, as the walls were double and the space between filled with sand. *Military Consultations*, 1752, p. 96.

stood was left. On the south side the gate alone was left. All the houses in the fort but one were destroyed and the batteries on the hills outside the fort were demolished; 3 maistries and 17 coolies were left to level the ground; the rest were sent off to Madras. The great and small guns, field-pieces and other weapons, the rafters, doors, beams, chairs, boxes, mirrors, gun-carriages, reapers, etc., in the fort, and other materials taken from the demolished houses, and the goods, paddy and other provisions found in the house of Badê Sâhib's son, Miyân Sâhib, were sent away, some in chelingas and catamarans, and the rest by land. Goods are still being sent away. Captain Smith,[1] the Captain of Covelong, stayed there till February 7, in the one house that had not been pulled down. Twenty soldiers and Topasses, 50 Coffrees, 60 sepoys and 20 coolies are still there, some near the gate and others in temporary sheds built in the town. In place of the batteries that have been pulled down east and west of the gate, 4 small guns have been mounted on earthworks. Ten cannon have been put aboard a one-masted sloop from Madras, and ten more with carriages are on the beach, ready to be sent by sea. When formerly Madras was captured,

[1] This was Joseph Smith, at this time a lieutenant.

cannon were sent by ship from Madras to Pondichery; but the ship sank between Tiruvadandai and Covelong; so under our management divers were sent who recovered some of them. Some were sent to Chingleput and Covelong, and the remaining 37 are in the roads. Six of these have been sent to Madras and the rest are still there.

The Governor asked if Sau Bhâji Râo was really coming with a large army to settle Arcot, as the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân say. I replied, 'It is true. But men say that he is really coming to see you and with your orders to subdue the English, Muhammad 'Alî Khân, etc.' He smiled and spoke of his former attack on the Portuguese and capture of Bassein.[1] I then took leave and came home.

I heard this evening that Nâgêsa Râo who had been released yesterday had been again imprisoned in the Nayinâr's house, and ordered by the Governor to pay a fine of 20,000 rupees.

Friday, February 16.[2]—This morning after reporting the news to the Governor, I went to the sorting godown, and came home at noon. The Governor was busy with his letters for

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[1] The Marathas captured Bassein in 1739. See Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, Vol. II, pp. 410-411.

[2] *9th Mâsi. Ângîrasa.*

Europe, so he had no leisure to talk, but went upstairs.

M. du Bausset told me to-day that an English officer, 8 soldiers and 200 sepoys who were marching from Devanâmpattanam to Tiruviti with a gun and provisions were attacked by 1,000 or 2,000 men under 'Alî Khân, belonging to the French army, and 2,000 of Morâri Râo's horse; the officer and all his people were killed and the cannon, muskets and provisions were carried to our camp.[1] The good news was reported to the Governor last night, and he told every one about it with great joy. I also heard this from other sources; but as the Governor was busy and did not talk to me, he did not mention it.

I also hear that, as Bhâji Râo is expected shortly, the Governor sent for his vakîl, Sâmâ Râo, and spoke encouragingly to him, and not only promised to give an order for batta on account of the killas but gave a bond for 10 lakhs of rupees on the poligars, killedars and jaghirdars. But the other said that was no use, as the killedars and jaghirdars mentioned had no killas or jaghirs now. The Governor and Madame assured him that they had, and that the money would be paid.

[1] This appears to be the incident described by Orme, *History*, Vol. I, p. 277.

Nandi Râjâ has written to the Mysore vakîl, Venkatanâranappa Ayyan as follows:—'Bâlâji Râo's troops are at Sîrpi in our territory, and therefore he is marching against us. If all our troops are gathered together, we can overthrow them, however many they be. Dêvarâja Ayyan, the chief dalavâi, has desired me to leave sufficient men at Srîrangam and join him. I have therefore set out in a fortunate hour, and shall march to-morrow towards Mysore. If you carry out my orders, and secure their help, the Pondichery people and Morâri Râo will unite and prevent Bhâji Râo from ever crossing the passes. Then we will drive out the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân, capture Trichinopoly, Arcot, etc., and, according to the agreement, we will keep Trichinopoly and they can have the Arcot subah. If this is not accepted, come away.' On reading this, the Governor and Madame said, 'They are mere potters, people who make vessels of clay; that is why they say nothing in reply to our letter, but write about something else.' Thus they ordered a letter to be written. A letter was therefore written, put into a cover, and, I hear, despatched to-day by harkaras.[1]

[1] As the foregoing shows, it was indeed only the invasion of Mysore by the Marathas and Salabat Jang that enabled Dupleix a little later to get his astonishingly good terms from Mysore.

I heard to-night that the English had seized the Tiruvannanallûr and old Gingee jaghirs and killas.

I also heard to-night that Pâpayya Pillai who has long had leprosy, has boils as large as *nuna* fruit all over his body, and passes blood with his urine; his skin has grown hard and the sores are on his face and near his eyes; so he has taken medicine, abstained from salt, and kept at home out of shame and weakness. But now two days alone remain out of the month allowed him in which to find a lakh and a quarter of rupees for Morâri Râo; and as the Governor has been beating, kicking and abusing him to make him pay, he has at last gone out and visited Guntûr Bâli Chetti, Vîrâ Chetti and others, to urge them to arrange for the money.

MARCH 1753.

Wednesday, March 7.[1]—As to-day was the first day of the Europeans' fast,[2] the Governor went to the church, heard mass, and was smeared with holy ash, according to the custom. When he returned, I paid my respects and reported the news. He then told M. Albert to go to Valudâvûr to meet Murtazâ 'Alî Khân[3] and return with him at six o'clock in the evening.

M. Albert and Pâpayya Pillai set out at two o'clock this afternoon with horses belonging to Muzaffar Khân and others, 20 in all. When they reached Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry, they saw Murtazâ 'Alî Khân advancing in state with seven or eight Muhammadan nobles, horsemen and foot. M. Albert and the others greeted Murtazâ 'Alî Khân and his company, and conducted them hither. At six o'clock they entered by the Valudâvûr gate, where the soldiers were drawn up. A salute of 11 guns was fired from the corner battery west of the Madras gate. When he approached the Fort gate, his palankin was stopped, and the Governor sent M. Guillard and M. du Bausset

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[1] [*28th Mâsi*], *Angîrasa.*

[2] *i.e.*, Lent

[3] This was the visit from which after having been proclaimed Nawâb, Murtazâ 'Alî retired, 'convinced,' as Orme says, 'for the first time in his life that he had met a cunninger man than himself.'

to receive him. They went accordingly. Murtazâ 'Alî Khân was desired to quit his palankin and M. Albert conducted him in and presented him to M. Guillard and M. du Bausset. When they had embraced one another, Murtazâ 'Alî Khân went in, accompanied by 5 or 6 nobles and 'Alî Sâhib Salik, who has come with him, and 5 or 6 servants; but their torches and other marks of honour were left outside. However, as they had no torches, as there was no moon, and they were strangers, Europeans were sent to guide them. The Governor was waiting at the foot of the staircase in the *Gouvernement*. Murtazâ 'Alî Khân and the others entered. When they had greeted and embraced each other, they sat on chairs together downstairs where the Governor was holding his office. A salute of 15 guns was fired. 'Alî Sâhib Salik and others who accompanied Murtazâ 'Alî Khân offered nazars to the Governor. Then the Governor enquired after Murtazâ 'Alî Khân's health. Pâpayya Pillai went and stood by Murtazâ 'Alî Khân who said something in Persian. As he cannot speak Persian, he had to ask Madanânda Pandit what had been said and Madanânda Pandit told him. Perceiving this, the Governor angrily told Pâpayya Pillai to go away. So he went shamefacedly. After talking a while, the Governor went upstairs to Madame, leading Murtazâ 'Alî Khân

by the hand, while 'Alî Sâhib Salik and others, Madanânda Pandit and Pâpayya Pillai departed. After Murtazâ 'Alî Khân had conversed with Madame, he was given rose water, and *pân supârî*, and they all came downstairs. As I was there, the Governor ordered me to tell Vinâyaka Pillai to supply Murtazâ 'Alî Khân with abundance of provisions. So I sent for him, told him the Governor's orders, and permitted him to go. At half-past eight Murtazâ 'Alî Khân departed to M. Dumas' garden, where everything was ready. The conversation between the Governor and Murtazâ 'Alî Khân took place thus:—Murtazâ 'Alî Khân spoke to 'Alî Sâhib Salik, who told Madanânda Pandit, who interpreted to the Governor.

This Murtazâ 'Alî Khân was not treated with a tithe of the respect that was shown to Morâri Râo.

The following are the presents given to M. Albert, Pâpayya Pillai and others when they received Murtazâ 'Alî Khân at Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry:—

To M. Albert, a horse and a dress of honour;

to Pâpayya Pillai, a horse and a dress of honour;

to Venkatanarasu (Madanânda Pandit's son-in-law), a dress of honour;

to Vinâyaka Pillai who took provisions at night, a dress of honour ; and

to Periya Parasurâma Pillai's son, a dress of honour.

I heard that these presents had been given.

Thursday, March 8.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he was coming downstairs, so I reported the news. He asked if I had seen Murtazâ 'Alî Khân. I said I had. He then said, 'M. Carvalho's uncle on the mother's side, M. St. Hilaire,[2] used to live at Vellore. He must be the father of this man Murtazâ 'Alî Khân, else why should he have wished to murder any one or to run away? He is a mean fellow, quite unfit for his position.' When the Governor thus expressed his disapproval of Murtazâ 'Alî Khân, I replied according to his wish, and said that he was nothing like a nobleman.

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[1] *29th Mâsi, Ângirasa.*

[2] There seem to have been two men of this name in India in the early part of the 18th century. One was a sea-faring man, who married a girl, said to have been English, but whose maiden name I have not been able to determine. She afterwards married a man named Holcomb, and finally died at Madras, in 1791, over 90 years old. By her first husband she had a daughter, Marie St. Hilaire, who married Francisco Carvalho, merchant of Madras and Pondichery. The other St. Hilaire was a surgeon, who is mentioned in connection with Arcot affairs in 1718 and again in 1724. (*Lettres et Conventions*, p. 16 ; and *Déliberations du Conseil Supérieur*, 1724-35, p 15.) This surgeon and the mariner were, I believe, brothers ; so that the surgeon was uncle to Francisco Carvalho's wife. Perhaps this is the connection alluded to by Dupleix.

The Governor then asked if Muhammad Alî Khân had yet fled, since no rice or other provisions could reach him. I replied, 'As our army has closely surrounded Muhammad 'Alî Khân, what else can he do? But Bhâji Râo has written to him holding out hopes of assistance,[1] so he still lingers; and the English too are not altogether willing to abandon him. If the letter had not come, the English would have deserted him and then he must have fled.' He agreed.

Monday, March 26.[2]—When Murtazâ 'Alî Khân visited the Governor this afternoon to take leave, the Governor gave him presents according to the Telugu list copied below. After this the Governor bestowed on him the title of Zulbasar Jang, and gave suitable presents to the Muhammadan nobles and gumastahs who had come with him. A salute of fifteen guns was fired at the Fort. Murtazâ 'Alî Khân then took leave of the Governor and Madame, and departed by the Valudâvûr gate. He is staying the night at Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry, where he is to be entertained by Vinâyaka Pillai. A salute of eleven guns was fired at the Gate when he

[1] In January a vakîl from Bâlâji Râo is said to be with Lawrence, *i.e.*, at camp, and so, presumably with Muhammad 'Alî. (*Orme Manuscripts, India*, Vol. III, f. 642.)

[2] *17th Panguni, Ângîrasa.*

departed. Pâpayya Pillai and Madanânda Pandit escorted him to Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry. When the entertainment was over at midnight, Murtazâ 'Alî Khân and others ate the feast and accepted the presents provided by Vinâyaka Pillai ; and then moved to the tents pitched about a mile off. There Pâpayya Pillai and Madanânda Pandit told him that the Governor had ordered them to demand the three lakhs he had promised, and added, 'What is the use of your going to Vellore now ? Go to Tiruvannâmalai and thence to Tirukkâlûr, Kalkurichipândiyam, Sankarapuram and other places, to collect the revenues due from those places. Thus you will weaken the enemy.' Murtazâ 'Alî Khân replied, 'You say truly, but how can I now give the three lakhs of rupees which you demand ? I will pay according to the agreement. What is the use of my going to Tiruvannâmalai ? I have 2,000 horse at Vellore ; so I shall go there, pay them, and then proceed to Arcot, collecting my forces. If I occupy Arcot, the rest will easily be taken. I have only few men with me, and what can they do ? I must go to Vellore, settle affairs there, and then seize Tiruvannâmalai and other places ; otherwise the enemy will advance with his forces and ruin the plan.' They replied, 'Morâri Râo has joined us and

must be paid monthly according to our agreement. He will be of great help. Therefore give us at least a lakh of rupees, to be paid to him.' He pondered a little, and, being desirous to get away quietly, without being troubled to remain,[1] patted Pâpayya Pillai on the back, saying, 'I will send the money as soon as I reach Vellore and do exactly as you advise. You must wait till then.' He was then given a mansab of 2,000 horse and a nagara. He took leave and departed with great joy. He is going to Gingee ; but it is not known whether he will proceed to Vellore or Tiruvannâmalai.

Sâmâ Râo, Sau Bhâji Râo's vakîl, came to my house at nine o'clock to-night, to take leave before returning to Bhâji Râo. 'It is well,' I said and despatched him with a few words of compliments and presents.

The following news to-day reached Bukkanji Kâsi Dâs's shop from Salabat Jang's camp :—Salabat Jang has seized Kondavêdu, Guntûr, etc., given as a jaghir to Monsieur[2] and Kambampêttai, etc., given as a jaghir to Shaikh Ibrâhîm. He has also dismissed 5,000 or 6,000 sepoys who were serving under them ; and

[1] Cf. Orme, *History*, Vol. I, p. 278. The passage in the text affords the most illuminating commentary on the historian's remarks.

[2] *Sc.* Bussy. The districts mentioned had been granted him personally after the war with Bâlâji Râo in 1752, and he had made them over to the French Company.

ordered the remaining sepoys to be paid only 6 rupees a month or be sent away. He has also dismissed M. Goupil who is about to depart.[1] 2,80,000 rupees are owing to the sepoys who have been dismissed, and he has given a sanad for this amount to be collected in Masulipatam. Saiyid Lashkar Khân, Sânôji Nimbâlakar and Râjâ Râmachandra Râo have joined together. Saiyid Lashkar Khân is Dîwân and manages everything. They will collect the money due there and then proceed to Hyderabad.

Tuesday, March 27.[2]—I hear to-day that a salute of eleven guns was fired from the Valudâvûr fort when Murtazâ 'Alî Khân who departed yesterday evening, passed by that place. I have heard nothing else.

Friday, March 30.[3]—I went and paid my respects to the Governor, when he came downstairs this morning at half-past seven. He was drinking tea. He asked the news. When I had reported to him the news of the choultry and the Company's merchants' godown, etc., he asked about Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Tiruviti. I replied that I had heard that Morâri Râo

[1] When Bussy went to Masulipatam, on account of ill health, he left Goupil in command. For the beginning of this intrigue to get rid of the French, see a curious report from a spy in English service *ap. Country Correspondence*, 1753, p. 66.

[2] *13th Panguni, Ângîrasa.*

[3] *21st Panguni, Ângîrasa.*

with our horse and M. La Volonté *Kônap-parangi*, etc., had seized Tiruvêndipuram yesterday. He replied, 'The Tiruvêndipuram temple has certainly been seized; but no English foot or sepoys were there, and only 20 or 30 bags of rice that the Pindaris have carried off, together with four 6-pounders which have been seized. I hear that Muhammad 'Alî Khân is in great difficulty for money and provisions. Is this true?'—'It is,' I replied; 'that is why he has put a garrison in Tiruviti and is going to Cuddalore. The tappal-people and travellers from there say that he means to return to Tiruviti after collecting provisions.' He replied that he would find it difficult to remain there. I explained that I had only reported what was said—that he was certainly going to Cuddalore.

APRIL 1753.

Monday, April 2.[1]—As the Yânâm cloth was being sorted at the Fort this morning, I went there at half-past six, and remained at the sorting-godown. When I heard that the Governor had come down to drink tea, I went and salaamed. As I approached, he said, 'When Dôst Muhammad, Morâri Râo and his younger brother Bhujanga Râo, with their and our armies, were about to attack Tiruviti fort at ten o'clock yesterday, Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English with their troops and seven or eight guns from Fort St. David approached within about three miles; on this, our people and Morâri Râo's, except those posted to attack the fort, advanced against Muhammad 'Alî Khân. A few of our soldiers, an officer and a few sepoys were killed; on which our men retreated. But Bhujanga Râo, Morâri Râo's younger brother, who was attacking the fort ditch, fell upon the enemy. Morâri Râo and 500 of his troopers fought bravely, threw the enemy into confusion, and took their guns and provisions. Muhammad 'Alî Khân and his bakhshî (whose name I do not know) who were on horseback were wounded by bullets and fell; on which the cry arose in Persian,

[1] 24th Panguni, Ângirasa.

"The Nawâb has been wounded by a bullet; fetch his palankin." But one of the cannon-balls of the people in the fort who were firing at our side from behind, carried off Bhujanga Râo's head; and killed two jemadars besides. Another shot almost struck Morâri Râo, and killed his horse which fell with him. So there was great confusion. Others of Morâri Râo's people were killed; but the enemy lost more. Although our army retreated, the Marathas fought gloriously. If they had only had guns, not a man of the enemy would have escaped. They showed two or three times as much courage as they usually do, and our people disappointed them. I shall send M. Albert and M. de Kerjean to Morâri Râo with a letter of condolence, a dress of honour and a Mocha horse. I will tell them to condole with him, and return when they have presented the dress of honour and the horse. I have also ordered the naubat not to be beaten in the Fort for three days.'—'It is well,' I said. He then summoned the Topass horse-maistry, and asked him to bring the Arab horse that came from Mocha. He also told Appu to fetch a silver bridle, which he had received. Tyâgu was ordered to give a dress of honour worth a hundred rupees. When he had sent for M. Albert, he went upstairs; Dôst Muhammad went home, and I to the sorting godown.

I received a note of the 38 bales of Yânâm cloth that has been packed, and went to my office.

M. Albert, M. de Kerjean and Pâpayya Pillai went to camp to-day according to the Governor's orders, with the dress of honour and horse to condole with Morâri Râo.

Tuesday, April 3.[1]—[ ].

Wednesday, April 4.[2]—I hear the Governor has received a letter saying that Sau Bhâji Râo, who was attacking Seringapatam, has agreed to withdraw to Satâra, on receiving 80 lakhs of rupees, and has already marched four leagues that way.[3]

When I had reported the news to the Governor at half-past seven this morning, he told me in Dôst Muhammad's presence, to listen to his report of the Fort St. David news which was as follows :—'There was a battle near the Tiruviti fort on Sunday, when Muhammad 'Alî Khân was approaching from Fort St. David. Muhammad 'Alî Khân was wounded by a bullet and carried into Tiruviti fort in a palankin. The major and 120 men have certainly been killed ; it is uncertain whether the major is Mr. Lawrence or some

[1] *25th Panguni, Ângirasa.*

[2] *26th Panguni, Ângirasa.*

[3] Grant Duff describes this as the most profitable campaign that Balâji Râo ever made (*History of the Mahrattas*, ed. 1912, Vol. II, p. 64). The English vakîl estimated his takings at 59½ lakhs (*Country Correspondence, 1753*, p 62).

one else. A hundred Europeans have been wounded and 1,000 sepoys and 1,000 coolies, etc., have been killed. Their provisions of biscuit, bread, wine, rice, etc., have been plundered. Muhammad Abrâr (Muhammad 'Alî Khân's bakhshî), has been killed; and the corpses are being eaten by dogs and jackals. Of our Europeans, five soldiers have been killed and seven wounded. Except these and Bhujanga Râo, we had no other losses. Henceforward the Marathas will cut off all communication with Fort St. David.'

Then Morâri Râo's man came and asked for shot for his cannon. The Governor sent for the master-gunner, and ordered him to supply them. Mukunda Râo then came, and asked if I had eaten. I said I had. The Governor asked me what he was saying, and I explained. The Governor then asked what I took in the mornings. I said, cold rice, butter-milk and pickles. The Governor continued, 'Tamil food is not worth eating. They eat animals' food. What else is their vegetables and curry stuffs? It is not food fit for men. Now a Muhammadan *pilâu* is something; but there is nothing like our food in the world, either for cooking or ingredients; and it is served at a well-laid table, where wives, husbands, relations and friends all sit round and eat at their leisure in social enjoyment. The

Muhammadans and Tamils always want our food but we don't want theirs. We don't like their vegetable food.' He thus depreciated our food, dwelling on its defects, and added, 'You eat at table like a European, don't you? But you have long lived with Europeans and are intelligent, so you do not think it a breach of custom to do so. I am glad of that. Though the Tamils have long lived with us, still they say it is against their custom, and speak ill of us, comparing us, in their brutal ignorance, to Pariahs.' He spoke like this at some length.

He afterwards said, 'The Bishop who went to Cochin-China is being treated with great respect and visited. I hear that he has got permission for all to trade there. So I mean to send a ship. Send the Bishop, on the Company's account, 5 corge of cloth, 40 cubits by $2\frac{1}{4}$, and 3 corge of Orkanti red cloth from Mâthiripâkkam, from 20 to 30 rupees a corge.' When I said I would do so, he rose and went upstairs, while I went to my office.

Thursday, April 5.[1]—After I had reported the news to the Governor this morning, he said, 'Pâpayya Pillai has heard that Muhammad 'Alî Khân has had to have his hand amputated on account of his wound. Is that true?' I replied, 'There are so many different

[1] 27th Panguni, Angirasa.

stories about it that I cannot tell. Some say that his hand has been cut off on account of his wounds; others that his wounds are being dressed; while others again say that he has died of the unbearable pain. Whom are we to believe? We shall learn the truth to-day or to-morrow.'—'True,' he said, 'we cannot believe everything. Muhammad 'Alî Khân has already died a couple of hundred times and recovered as often.' I replied, 'Who that has made an enemy of you has survived? When rumour says that one is dead, he is assuredly dead. They said that Nizâm had died, and that proved true; so too has it been with Nâsîr Jang, Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân and others. So also Muhammad 'Alî Khân must have died.' The Governor smiled his agreement and was continuing the conversation, but letters came from camp, so he went to read and answer them. I took leave and went to the sorting-godown.

This afternoon the Governor received a letter from Morâri Râo saying:—

'Two or three times your people have deceived me by not helping me and refusing to attack the enemy. They did the same yesterday and the day before. If they do this, how can affairs prosper? Please write to your sardâr here to help us and attack the enemy; and send powder, shot, guns, etc. Then I will fight.

Moreover regarding my pay, 60,000 rupees are due and you have not sent it. If it be sent without delay, I will pay my people and see that affairs prosper; otherwise the army will not fight. Our army is encamped this side of the Pennâr; and the enemy at Koprâmangalam on the other side. They have brought up 8 guns and are offering battle; and they have great store of shot in their camp. If you will send troops and money to your sardâr, good; otherwise, I will remain at Valudâvûr if you will give me a jaghir.'

On reading this letter of complaint, the Governor sent for Pâpayya Pillai and asked angrily why the 60,000 rupees due to Morâri Râo had not been paid. He replied he would pay it at once, and took Morâri Râo's people to his house. The Governor ordered a few soldiers and 100 Topasses to be held ready to march with one 18-pounder and one 12-pounder, and shot and powder; and he despatched them with a letter to Morâri Râo at ten o'clock to-night.

M. Bury's sloop arrived to-day from Masulipatam with M. Aumont,[1] M. Dargy and two soldiers from Salabat Jang's camp. I hear that M. Bussy, etc., are at Masulipatam, Yânâm and those parts, about to return here, and that the

[1] I suppose the nephew of Madame Dupleix. He was a sous-lieutenant of 1750, and went to the Deccan in 1751

Europeans at Salabat Jang's camp are coming a few at a time.[1]

According to the Governor's orders the Nayinâr and Tillai Maistry escorted the powder, shot, cannon, etc., to camp to-day.

Friday, April 6.[2]—When I had reported the news to the Governor this morning, he said, 'The news of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's death must be false, else his people would never have faced ours—a thing which they never ventured to do till yesterday. Would his army face ours without their commander?' I replied, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân was only wounded, not killed. Owing to the glad news of Bhujanga Râo's death, Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops marched out and camped opposite to ours, although they had not dared to stir out of Tiruviti fort these last four months.' Dôst Muhammad said that he had heard the same.

The Governor then said to me, 'Out of the thousands of people here, no one is willing to carry the cannon, which are still here. Go and tell Râmachandra Ayyan to send them by Pattanavars.'[3] On this Râmachandra Ayyan came and said, 'I have collected

[1] At this time Bussy was demanding to be recalled, mainly on the plea that it was impossible to maintain such a fellow as Salabat Jang.

[2] *28th Panguni, Angîrasa.*

[3] Fishermen. See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. VII, pp. 177, etc.

Pattanavars but I have no peons.'—'I have none,' the Governor said, 'you must send yours.' I therefore sent my peons with the cannon, giving three pagodas from the liquor godown for the peons and coolies. I then went to my office. This money Râmachandra Râo [ ].

Sunday, April 8.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning and reported the news to the Governor. He told me to send powder and shot to camp. So I sent for Vinâyaka Pillai and Tillai Maistry and told them. They did accordingly.

The Governor sent for Vinâyaka Pillai and said, 'I hear that your people at camp complain to the Europeans that there is no money for their expenses. How is that?'—'It is true,' he replied, 'I have no money for their expenses.' The Governor said in anger, 'Large sums are due from you, so it is your duty to send money and not cause complaint. How can you say you have no money? Send money and see that these complaints are not repeated!' The Governor thus dismissed him. I took leave and went to my office. I heard the sound of guns this afternoon.

The Governor sent for me and said, 'We hear many guns at the camp. Our people are

[1] *30th Panguni, Ângîrasa.*

fighting well.' I reported that after the great gun had been sent yesterday, there had been sharp fighting. He told me to get four or five carts to take match-locks to camp. I therefore told the peons to supply Tillai Maistry with carts. Two or three were accordingly given.

This morning when I was going to my office from the Fort, the Second and M. Boyelleau told the Governor that cloth was lying in the sorting godown, that it looked like rain, and that the Company's business was being hindered.

Monday, April 9.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he said, 'Yânâm cloth, 15, 19, 23, 26, 30, etc., *Kunjams* wide, and some bales of Masulipatam *lungis*, have arrived with 100 and odd bales of Yânâm unbleached cloth. Tell M. Miran to send them to be washed and finished quickly. Give the necessary orders at the washing-place.'

He then asked the news from Tiruviti. I replied, 'No guns have been heard since this morning. Since eight o'clock last night people have been saying that Muhammad 'Alî Khân has fled into Tiruviti after marching to Kumâramangalam and camping against us. That would explain why we no longer hear guns.'—'That must be so,' he said ; 'but should

[1] *1st Chittirai, Srîmukha.*

we not have received news by now ?' I replied that it was only two hours after day-break, and news might come in another hour.

Then M. Berthelin, who had been to Sadras, came to pay his respects to the Governor, and began to speak of the business about which he had gone there. As it would have been improper to remain, I went to the sorting-godown, where I sat down and conversed.

M. Berthelin then came to the sorting-godown and said, 'I have sorted your lampasses and chintz which were brought from Madras to Sadras by M. Dormieux; but in the accounts was entered the price at Madras and the cost of transport thither. This caused trouble. So I told M. Dormieux that you owed me 500 pagodas, had the cloth baled, and sent it here by the sloop along with my goods. We will settle the matter when she arrives. You can let me have the goods, if you like, or pay the pagodas.' I agreed. He then went home and I went to my office.

A camel-messenger from Morâri Râo arrived at noon with a letter from him to the Governor. He said that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had fled from Kumâramangalam into Tiruviti, and that Morâri Râo had hoisted his flag and encamped. The Governor in joy gave him 100 rupees and two yards of scarlet broad-cloth. I hear that he promised to give 1,000 pagodas and an

elephant to whomsoever brought him news of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's death. I have written accordingly.

Tuesday, April 10.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning and reported the news, he asked me if Bhâji Râo had really crossed the Kistna, and added, 'Bhâji Râo was hastening to Satâra after settling the Mysore and Bednûr affairs, as his younger brother, who had marched into Guzerat, had been surrounded by the subahdar. I have received news to this effect. He must have crossed the Kistna by now and reached Satâra.' I replied that, as he had received the news by letter, it must be true.

He then asked if plenty of grain was being brought in. I replied that large quantities were coming by land and sea. After talking about other matters, I went to my office.

Thursday, April 12.[2]—When I had reported the news to the Governor at seven or half-past seven, this morning, Ilyas Khân, Mukunda Râo, etc., came to him, so I went to my office.

He sent for me at a quarter to twelve. When he came downstairs to breakfast, after talking with Ilyas Khân, etc., and 'Alî Khân, I paid my respects. He said, 'I have ordered 'Alî Khân not to go to camp but to stay here.

[1] *2nd Chittirai, Srîmukha.*

[2] *4th Chittirai, Srîmukha.*

Tell the Nayinâr to appoint men to prevent him from going to camp.' I therefore told Periyanna Nayinâr, who was standing by the Governor. He said he would be careful, and having salaamed, he departed. The Governor then sat down at table, and I came home.

Monday, April 16.[1]—After I had reported the news to the Governor this morning, he said, 'Write to suitable persons at Porto Novo to buy the tin which has arrived on the Quedah ship, even if the price is 32 or 33.'[2] I said I would do so. He then asked if there were any horses to be sold by auction. I replied, '24 Manilla horses have come; but M. Ribec and others of the Manilla expedition have not yet returned.'

It was then reported that the sale of the horses had begun. 'You had better go,' the Governor said, 'I am coming too.' So I went. The sale was just beginning. A pair of good carriage horses had been already sold to M. Delarche for 610 rupees; he afterwards bought another horse for 303 rupees. I did not bid, as the prices ran so high.[3] A horse was then sold for over 500. None fetched less than 300 or more than 600 rupees

[1] *8th Chittirai, Srîmukha.*

[2] *i.e.*, pagodas per candy of about 500 lbs.

[3] At a later date our diarist was reproached with his ostentation in acquiring a caléche and six. Dupleix, *Réponse à la lettre du sieur Godeheu*, pp. 226, etc.

whereas formerly 200 rupees was thought the highest price. Muhammadans used to buy them at that rate and, after breaking them in, sell them for 400 pagodas. Similar horses now fetch twice the price, so I bought none; but Nâganna Nâyakkan, Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti and others bought 4 or 5; and the Governor bid for one, but let Mîr A'azam have it. The rest were all bought by Europeans. People say that, since God willed Nâsîr Jang should perish at the hand of Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân, whereby the French obtained great wealth, so that they possessed lakhs upon lakhs, it is no wonder that they do not mind what they pay for their horses.

Thursday, April 19.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning and reported the news, after the Governor had returned after hearing mass at the church, and had taken his tea or coffee with the others at the *Gouvernement.* He generally asks what news there is, and I tell him. But to-day he did not, and his face was darkened and sorrowful. Morâri Râo's man, Mukunda Râo, asked the Governor, just after his return from church, for 1,20,000 rupees due at the end of the month which expired yesterday. His appearance reminded [the Governor] that whithersoever his armies had marched, they

[1] *11th Chittirai, Srîmukha.*

had retired in defeat; and that the enemy had seized and occupied what few countries our people had captured, and had driven them out. Besides no money is coming in, while three lakhs of rupees are paid out every month. The thought of all this greatly troubled him. Perceiving this, I went to the sorting-godown, and talked for some time with the Second and others there.

As up to Saturday it is the time of God's suffering, the Europeans are wearing black in token of mourning, and are going to church; so they now went to their houses. I talked to the Company's merchants, and then went to my office.

Friday, April 20.[1]—The Governor did not return from church till ten o'clock this morning, so I waited and then reported the news. After hearing this, he went upstairs in silence. I think this was because to-day is the day of confession and sacrament on account of God's suffering since yesterday. Moreover the flag was hoisted half-mast to-day in sign of its being a day of great mourning. In all the 33 years I have lived here, the bells have not rung from the Thursday to the Saturday, nor has the flag been hoisted ; the poor have been fed, and the Governor has given at most two or three pagodas to beggars, in all the eleven

[1] *12th Chittirai, Srîmukha.*

years he has been Governor. But the dubâshes and the servants in the *Gouvernement* in the Fort say that this year he has distributed 100 pagodas' worth of fanams and rupees ; another extraordinary thing is that the flag has been hoisted at half-mast, while for these three days he has never been angry, and neither kicked, beaten nor abused any one. M. Lenoir used to give to beggars and the Capuchins church 150 or 200 pagodas in a year ; and M. Dumas would give even 1,000 or 2,000 pagodas ; but with M. Dupleix, 30 pagodas is a great thing. Nevertheless, to the wonder of his household, on Maundy Thursday, he actually gave 100 rupees and 100 rupees' worth of cash and fanams to the Christian beggars from Malabar, and ordered 100 rupees to be given away to the beggars at each of the two churches. According to what his household say, the Governor must have been moved to this piety by his wife, who tells him that, if he loves his people, is pious and charitable, makes his confession and receives the sacrament, his enemies who now flourish will decay, and the gold he receives will no longer turn to ashes. But of what avail is all this ? God favours them only who turn from cruelty to do good. In what affair will they prosper so long as they do their people to death ? I write only what all are saying.

I hear that the amaldârs of Tiruvottiyûr, Madurantakam, Utramallûr and Sâlavâkkam have fled, and that the English have possession of these places.

Saturday, April 21.[1]—The Governor, etc., did not return to the *Gouvernement* till ten o'clock after the ceremonies at the church. When he had taken tea, the Mysore vakîl came. The Governor rose on his arrival and went upstairs. As there was no need of me, I went to my office with Chinniya Chetti, Venkatâchala Chetti and Guruvappa Chetti. They observed that the Mysore vakîl had received a letter agreeing to all but one or two of the [French] proposals and that, if these terms were closed with at once, and he[2] got an advance of four or five lakhs of rupees, he would be able to pay the establishment for two months, in which time he could find a further expedient. They supposed this was why he had gone upstairs at once without speaking to any one, even the Europeans. I shall learn the terms proposed on either side and write them to-morrow or the day after.

Sunday, April 22.[3]—The Governor went to the church early in the morning with all his family as God, who has been suffering these

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[1] *13th Chittirai, Srîmukha.*
[2] *i.e.*, the Governor.
[3] *14th Chittirai. Srîmukha.*

last three days even to death, was restored to life two hours before dawn this morning. He went again at half-past seven to hear mass and returned at eight to take coffee or tea on the ground-floor of the *Gouvernement*. When all had taken leave, I paid my respects and reported the news. He said, 'I hear that Muhammad 'Alî Khân marched from Tiruviti to Fort St. David yesterday evening, and that he is proceeding to Trichinopoly. There is another story that he cannot pay his sepoys, Europeans, etc., and that he has gone to Fort St. David to get money to pay his people and buy provisions.' I observed that men were saying he must either go himself to Trichinopoly or send reinforcements, and also get money for his expenses and provisions, as he could get none where he was ; so he had marched to Fort St. David at six o'clock last night; but some asserted that all this was false. The Governor went upstairs to write an answer to be sent by Morâri Râo's camel-man, who had brought him a letter. I went to my office.

Monday, April 23.[1]—I found the Governor alone upstairs this morning, as he had not gone to the church, by reason of some bodily or mental discomfort. He seemed to be thinking deeply. He said he had heard that

[1] *15th Chittirai, Srîmukha.*

Muhammad 'Alî Khân had reached Fort St. David. I replied it was true, and that he had prepared to march for Trichinopoly to-morrow. He said, 'How can he march for Trichinopoly? Will he not require money for his expenses on the way? How can he pay the sepoys and horsemen who are troubling him, or how will they allow him to depart?' I replied that a Chetti from Cuddalore had informed me that Muhammad 'Alî Khân was certain to march to Trichinopoly, for he had received a letter announcing that unless he came, the fort could no longer be held, as the garrison were disaffected and on the side of the Mysoreans, having no money for their pay or provisions, and that no more letters would be sent. The Governor said this was untrue. I then took leave and went to my office.

I hear that a camel-man brought a letter from Morâri Râo saying that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had marched for Trichinopoly; after reading the letter, the Governor rejoiced and wrote answers to Morâri Râo and M. Maissin, the commander, desiring them to cut him off.

Tuesday, April 24.[1]—To-day was a feast-day: the Governor went to the church this morning at ten o'clock and heard mass. When he returned, the contents of Murtazâ 'Alî Khân's

[1] *16th Chittirai, Srîmukha.*

letter, brought by a camel-man, were reported to him as follows:—'1,000 foot-soldiers, 100 Europeans, a captain and two or three hundred horsemen of 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân's people, marched the day before yesterday to attack Vellore. When they were encamped at Kuppam, my men attacked them and put 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân to flight. Two cannon, a kettle-drum on a camel, the captain of the English soldiers, five or six Europeans, and 100 muskets fell into our hands. About a hundred were killed and the rest fled in all directions.'[1] The camel-man confirmed this news. He was given 50 rupees and two yards of broad-cloth, and a reply was written congratulating Murtazâ 'Alî Khân. He was also desired to capture Arcot, Tiruvannâmalai and other forts, and expel the enemy. The Governor told this with great joy. I congratulated him.

Wednesday, April 25.[2]—I went to the Fort at seven o'clock this morning to inspect the

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[1] An interesting account of this action is found in the *Orme MSS. India.* Vol. III, ff. 655, etc., by Joseph Smith, who was in command of the English party. He was sent out from Arcot on April 21 with 40 Europeans, 2 companies of sepoys and a couple of field-pieces supported by a disorderly and useless body of the Nawâb's troops, to attack a party reported to be advancing from Vellore to attack Arcot. When the enemy came in sight, Najîb-ul-lah (not 'Abd-ul-wahâb, as stated in the text) could hardly be restrained from flight; and soon after, he abandoned Smith altogether; Smith was then surrounded, and, being unable to withdraw to Arcot, was obliged to surrender. Cf. the report from the Commandant at Arcot, *Military Consultations*, 1753, p. 67.

[2] *17th Chittirai, Srîmukha.*

bleached cloth for Yânâm and reported with the other news that 38 bales had been packed.

The Governor said he had heard that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had advanced to Chidambaram, but that he had been prevented from going further by 2,000 of Morâri Râo's horsemen, and asked if this was true. I said it was, and added that they had sent men to Devikôttai for coolies. The Governor agreed and added that when Muhammad 'Alî Khân had asked Mr. Starke for money for his expenses on the way to Trichinopoly, the latter had only given him 2,000 pagodas, and that Muhammad 'Alî Khân could not do much with this. I said, 'Henceforth their fortunes will decline,' and, taking leave, went to my office.

Friday, April 27.[1]—When I went to the Governor at eight o'clock this morning and reported the news, he said to Dôst Muhammad who was there, 'Before the run-away Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English arrive, Nandi Râjâ will have reached Trichinopoly and will drive him away. If our troops press him hard, he may be caught and crushed, or he may be forced to take shelter with his friends in Tanjore.' I observed, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân's time of misfortune began 15 days

[1] 19th Chittirai, Srîmukha.

ago when he fled from Tiruviti. In another 15 days his business will be settled.' The Governor said, 'Mr. Lawrence has advised Mr. Saunders to his undoing. If he had not, they would have given up the struggle, as they were ordered to last year by the Europe ships; and Muhammad 'Alî Khân must either have fled or perished a year ago. All this is Mr. Lawrence's fault. Mr. Saunders is a thievish dog and a fool, who is running his head against a stone-wall.' When he uttered this angry abuse against Mr. Saunders, I replied, 'That is what always happens to those who lack foresight, are hasty, and pursue their desires without deliberation, rushing on their own destruction. I have seen such things happen many times, and many times they will be seen again. Muhammad 'Alî Khân and Mr. Saunders are alike in this; but the best example is Nâsîr Jang.' He agreed, and asked if my man with the European at Porto Novo had written anything about this. I replied, 'I have no one there. You dismissed my amaldâr and appointed your man instead; and now Muhammad 'Alî Khân's people and the English manage it. It is 18 [months] since my man was dismissed.' He made no reply to this but went upstairs. I went to the sorting-godown; and Dôst Muhammad took leave and went home.

The Governor sent for me this afternoon and said, 'A letter from Cuddalore says that, when Muhammad 'Alî Khân had passed Chidambaram and crossed the Coleroon, he heard that the Mysore Râjâ had taken Trichinopoly. On this he wanted to return to Cuddalore, but 2,000 of Morâri Râo's horsemen and our army with Kônapparangi and others, attacked and beat him severely. His troops were defeated and fled in all directions, and Muhammad 'Alî Khân himself fled on horseback. We took some cannon and a few guns, etc. Have you heard anything about it?' I replied I had heard nothing so far. The Governor said that it must be true as it had come from Cuddalore. I agreed, and he then in great joy sent word to the Mysore vakîl and others. I took leave of him and went to my office.

I hear people say that Kutti, Madame's Brâhman harkara, has deceived her and the Governor by telling them he has received the above in a letter from Cuddalore by which he is said to have got 100 rupees.

Saturday, April 28.[1]—Hasan-ud-dîn Khân has arrived. He fell into the hands of Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English in the fight at Trichinopoly last June, and now has escaped from Fort St. David, where he was

[1] *20th Chittirai, Srîmukha.*

imprisoned. He got away after nine o'clock last night, reached Ariyânkuppam at two and at sunrise sent word to the Governor from Mêlugiri Pandit's Choultry inside the Bound-hedge. The Governor sent for me at once When I arrived, he said, 'Hasan-ud-dîn Khân, who was imprisoned at Fort St. David, has escaped and is at Mêlugiri Pandit's Choultry. You had better go and bring him in.' So saying, he sent me with an ivory palankin for Hasan-ud-dîn Khân at Mêlugiri Pandit's Choultry. He advanced to meet me, salaamed and embraced me, with tears in his eyes. I comforted him, saying that his season of misfortune had involved him in troubles, but that now his time of prosperity had come. We then sat down. Hasan-ud-dîn Khân said, 'You are the Governor's and Company's dubâsh, so I will tell you the story of my escape; attend, therefore. For the last month I was a prisoner at Fort St. David, my food was brought in in a small box, made for the purpose, and carried out again. The sentinels knew this, but I gave them presents, amounting to 7,000 rupees, in hundreds, two hundreds, fifties, forties, thirties and twenties, to allow the box to be carried to and fro without hindrance. I had the windows of my cell closed for five or six days pretending that I had a headache ; I refrained from food for four days, so that I

became weak. About nine o'clock last night, I made the servant who attended me, lie down in my cot. as though I myself was lying there by reason of the pain in my leg. I then got into the box and told the man who usually carried it to take it out, leaving the servant behind. A gun fired; so I told him to carry the box out, as the firing was of good omen. He did so and left the prison. The sentry saw the servant lying in the cot in the cell, as though he had a pain in his leg. and so closed and locked the door. When the box was being carried out, the sentry at the fort gate asked what it was ; but the bearer replied that he was the man who always brought food in for me. When I had been carried a quarter of a mile. I told the man to put the box down and open it. I got out. We walked along the beach till we reached Ariyânkuppam about two o'clock. I got here at sunrise and sent word of my escape.'[1] I replied. 'You have escaped.

[1] Shaikh Hasan has been frequently mentioned in the previous volumes, along with his brother, Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân, as the principal officers of the French sepoys. He had been taken prisoner at Srîrangam. in 1752, and, as he was reputed to be the man who had slain Anwar-ud-dîn at Ambûr, he had been guarded with great care. His escape caused much annoyance at St. David's and Madras, where it was ascribed to connivance. Among the property which he left behind in his prison were fine wine-glasses ; so I suppose he was not a very rigid Mussalman. He is said by Orme to have been mortally wounded at Trinomalai in September, 1753 ; but, as Captain Campbell saw him in Pondichery in the following December, I suppose Orme mistaken—an opinion borne out by the diarist's account.

That is all that matters. Trouble not your heart about other things.' When I had complimented him, and was about to depart, Pâpayya Pillai and Madanânda Pandit arrived according to Madame's orders. When he had told his story in brief, Pâpayya Pillai said, 'The country, lands and the management thereof are yours. What you command, I will perform.' He then desired him (according to the instructions Madame had given Madanânda Pandit) to tell the Governor confidentially that people at Fort St. David were saying that the Mysoreans had taken Trichinopoly and that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had fled.

Then we all departed. He visited the Governor at half-past ten with a nazar of 21 rupees, and related his story from beginning to end as written above. The Governor replied with compliments of joy at his escape, and presented him with a dress of honour, at which time a salute of 7 guns was fired.

The Governor then asked him the Fort St. David news. He replied that the Râjâ of Mysore had taken Trichinopoly and Muhammad 'Alî Khân was said to have been unable to resist our people at the Coleroon and to have fled. The Governor rejoiced to hear this and told him to go to Madame. So he visited Madame and gave her a nazar. After talking to her a little while, he took leave, and visited

the house of Chandâ Sâhib's son, Razâ Sâhib, whence, after paying his compliments, he went home.

Afterwards the Governor sent for me and in the Bishop's[1] presence said that Hasan-ud-dîn Khân had succeeded in escaping from the English. I replied, 'His escape is nothing; but Mr. Saunders, the Governor of Madras, and Mr. Starke, the Governor of Fort St. David, are on bad terms. As Hasan-ud-dîn Khân has now made his escape, Mr. Saunders will believe that Mr. Starke received lakhs and lakhs to let him go, and so their enmity will increase. Muhammad 'Alî Khân besides will complain of Hasan-ud-dîn's being released without his sharing the profit, and thus ill-feeling will arise between him and the English. His escape will produce a thousand suspicions, by your good fortune.' The Governor rejoiced at my words and told the Bishop that it was true. He agreed.

To-day the Governor received a letter from the Council at Fort St. David.[2] They wrote formerly that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had granted the Tiruviti fort to them, that it had thus become theirs, that their King's flag was flying there, and that, therefore, it was

[1] Probably Antonio Noronha.

[2] The French Correspondence for 1753 is missing; but the letter mentioned probably related to the Swiss prisoners in Pondichery. Cf. *Military Consultations*, 1753, p. 75.

improper for our army to have attacked it. The Governor replied that when the fort was first in his possession, and his King's flag was flying there, they and Muhammad 'Alî Khân seized it by force, removed our flag, and hoisted theirs, and that it was false to claim the fort as theirs. I do not know what the English have now written. Having read the letter, the Governor ordered the chobdar who brought it to be conducted beyond the Bound-hedge, and this was done.

This evening Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, the Mysore vakîl, visited the Governor and said that, with the help of the Tanjore people, Muhammad 'Alî Khân had reached Pandanallûr by way of Chôlamandalam, in order to proceed to Trichinopoly; that the Mysore people had surrounded the fort, and that our troops were pursuing him. This disquieted the Governor, for it disproved his wife's report, that the Râjâ of Mysore had captured Trichinopoly and that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had fled.

At half-past six this evening there was a storm of rain with a violent wind, which continued for about an hour. Then it drizzled, and there were one or two peals of thunder.

Sunday, April 29.[1]—When I had reported the news to the Governor this morning, he

[1] *21st Chittirai, Srîmukha.*

asked about Trichinopoly. I replied I had heard that the Mysoreans had not taken the fort. 'That must be the case,' he said. We then spoke of Hasan-ud-dîn Khân's escape and the disagreement it would cause between the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân. Then I went to my office.

I heard the following news to-day:—The Governor promised the captain of a sloop to promote him to the command of a ship if he safely landed the Bishop of Cochin-China there. The captain did so and returned; but when he was ordered to go to China and Macao, he reminded the Governor of his promised promotion. The Governor replied he would see about it on his return. The captain answered that the Governor seldom made promises and that, when he did, he should fulfil them. The Governor in anger exclaimed, 'You had better obey me, you dog,' and sent him away.

I hear that the Governor to-day ordered that swords should be worn by those only of the Company's European servants who were at least *sous-marchands*.

Hasan-ud-dîn Khân asked the Governor why he had given the Arcot subah to Murtazâ Alî Khân, and declared that he would pay the revenues if it were given him, adding that

he had Salabat Jang's and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's parwânas for the Vellore killa. 'Well,' the Governor said, 'you may send your people to take possession of the Chêtpattu fort and jaghir which have been assigned to you.' He then went away; but the Governor sent him a message by Dôst Muhammad. I think this has been done in order to be able to claim money from him.

Monday, April 30.[1]—After I had reported the news to the Governor this morning, he asked if Muhammad 'Alî Khân had really crossed the Coleroon. I said he had. He then observed that Trichinopoly had not been taken after all by the Mysoreans. 'True,' I replied. 'What liars people are!' he said. I replied, 'As people cannot go to and fro out of fear of the Marathas, a man can only repeat what he hears; and so there is much difference between what proves true and what is said in the bazaar.'

He was then told that a ship had been sighted to the southward, so he went upstairs to see it. I went to the sorting-godown, and thence accompanied M. Miran to the ramparts to see it. M. Miran said that it was a Europe ship. Some of the Europeans said it must be the Europe ship *La Villeflix* which was to

[1] *22nd Chittirai, Srîmukha.*

have sailed from China for Mahé, and that she must have been driven back by contrary winds.

The Governor then sent for me. He asked if I had received any answer to the letter sent to Porto Novo about the tin. I said that last year it had fetched 42 pagodas, but that now it was 45. He told me to write offering 35 or so for the first quality. I agreed. He then said, 'As the *Villeflix* is shortly expected, we shall have plenty of tin.' I then took leave and then went to my office. The *Villeflix* anchored at eleven o'clock and fired a salute of 11 guns.

MAY 1753.

Wednesday, May 2.[1]—When I had reported the news to the Governor this morning, he asked if Muhammad 'Alî Khân had really halted at Devikôttai. I replied some said so, but others said that he had halted at the Tiruvâdi[2] mint near Tanjore. 'No one has certain news,' he said rather angrily and went upstairs. Those who have been with him, such as the chobdar and others, say that he has been ill-tempered since yesterday, as large sums of money have to be issued for the monthly pay. I listened to what they said, and then went to the sorting-godown. Seeing that 10 bales of coarse blue-cloth from Sadras were being packed for Mascareigne, I told the Second that the cloth had been badly dyed and conjeed, it was short of the proper measurements, and that the weaving was loose because of the thinness of the thread ; and I asked whether it was really to be packed for Mascareigne. He replied that he had told all this to the Governor, but he had ordered it to be packed, so nothing could be done. I agreed and went to my office.

Shaikh Hasan set out for Morâri Râo's camp.

[1] *24th Chittirai, Srîmukha.*
[2] Reading *Tiruvâdi* for *Tiruvîti.*

Morâri Râo has written to the Governor as follows :—' When 200 English soldiers and 300 sepoys out of the 800 stationed in Tiruviti, marched out at eight o'clock this morning with a gun made of the five metals to attack our people, we beat them severely, taking 100 English soldiers prisoner. Of the other 400[1], some were killed, others were wounded and the rest fled, except 20 or 30 who were taken. Their hands were cut off, and they were sent away with their hands tied round their necks.[2] Moreover their gun was seized. Ladders were not ready to scale the fort, so the attack has been postponed.' Thus Morâri Râo announced his victory, and asked to be given the gun taken from the enemy. A horseman brought it at half-past four this evening and delivered it to the Governor.

The Governor read the letter, was overjoyed, and answered Morâri Râo that he might keep the gun. He gave the messenger 30 rupees, a shawl, and a turban. After his dismissal, he came and told me the news. I gave him two yards of green broad-cloth and dismissed him.

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[1] Reading *Nânûru* for *Nûru*.

[2] I do not find this barbarous mutilation mentioned elsewhere and scarcely credit it. Morâri Râo exaggerates the numbers of the party he engaged. It consisted of 60 Europeans and 200 sepoys. *Military Consultations*, 1753, p. 71.

I hear that Sau Bhâji Râo has written to the Governor, saying that he has received a letter from Muzaffar Khân ; Bhâji Râo's army is camping at Halehonuru[1] on his way to Satâra.

26 English soldiers and 3 officers taken in the fight at Tiruviti were sent here to-day, and arrived about half-past six. The Governor ordered them to be imprisoned.

Thursday, May 3.[2]—When the Governor had returned from church this morning, I reported the news. He said, 'Our people have caught 100 Europeans and 400 sepoys who marched from Tiruviti with a gun, killed 50 Europeans and 200 sepoys, and taken 25 European officers and others, besides the cannon and 400 muskets. We shall take the 50 Europeans and 200 or 300 sepoys who are still in Tiruviti, and the fort itself ; the news will not be long in coming.' I said I had heard the same.

When we were thus talking, M. Selle, the captain of the Europe ship, the *Villeflix*, which has returned from China, came and said, 'I have 10 candies of alum, 30 or 40 candies of China-root and some porcelain, but cannot find purchasers for them.' The Governor told me to ask the Company's merchants to buy them.

[1] Reading *laskar Halehonuru* for *lallâr alêyunnuru.*
[2] *25th Chittirai, Srîmukha.*

I said I would. They then talked together, and I went to my office.

I hear the following camp news about Muhammad 'Alî Khân:—Muhammad 'Alî Khân set out from Kumbakonam with 1,000 English soldiers, 5,000 foot-soldiers and 18 guns, and attacked the Mysore Râjâ's troops encamped against Trichinopoly. There was a good fight lasting two hours; but at last the Mysoreans retreated into Srîrangam[1]. When Morâri Râo heard that Muhammad 'Alî Khân was encamped by Trichinopoly, he sent 1,500 horse under the command of Bâlâji Ghorpadê and Manôji Ghorpadê in pursuit of him; they have reached the Mysore camp. Kônapparangi who went from here with 200 Europeans and 1,000 foot-soldiers is encamped with 6 guns on the banks of the Coleroon, attacking Chidambaram.

I hear that the French and Morâri Râo's troops who marched with Hasan-ud-dîn Khân to Tiruviti are attacking it so closely that they will take it in a few hours.

Pâpayya Pillai arrived from camp at eight o'clock to-night. Hasan-ud-dîn Khân, who had visited Morâri Râo, returned this evening and,

[1] A mistake. Lawrence had not yet reached Trichinopoly with the relieving forces. The Mysoreans withdrew from the plain into Srîrangam, in consequence of Dalton's beating up their camp. *Military Consultations*, 1753, p. 79.

after an interview with the Governor, went home.

Saturday, May 5.[1]—I hear that Morâri Râo gave Hasan-ud-dîn Khân a young elephant and a dress of honour, and related all things to him.

At nine o'clock to-night the Governor sent to our troops attacking Tiruviti, his own elephants (including his great elephant), Razâ Sâhib's elephants, and those belonging to people in the town, laden with shot, and coolies carrying shell weighing 150 pounds as well as 18 and 20 pound shot.

Sunday, May 6.[2]—They say that no business is being attended to except the despatch of men, powder, shot, shell, etc., to camp.

Monday, May 7.[3]—When I had reported the news to the Governor at half-past seven this morning, he asked if the Orkanti and unbleached cloth for Cochin-China had yet been dyed red. I said that it would take another month. He replied that that was no use, as the ship would have sailed by then.

He then asked why no Salem cloth had been received. I replied, 'After Muhammad 'Alî Khân's departure from Tiruviti, the Marathas prevented our letter-carriers from going to and

[1] *27th Chittirai, Srîmukha.*
[2] *28th Chittirai, Srîmukha.*
[3] *29th Chittirai, Srîmukha.*

fro, and killed all they met with so that none could pass; for men set out with the fear of death on them, and after going a short way returned with some excuse; and though we have sent them out again, it will take a month for them to arrive with their news. Hence all the delay.' The Governor angrily said, 'Can that be, when Muhammad 'Alî Khân departed 17 or 18 days ago?' I replied, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân has gone, but the Marathas have not. Moreover the English exercise authority in Kalkurichi, Vriddhachalam, etc., places, through which bullock-loads must pass from Salem or Udaiyârpâlaiyam. When they kill our people on the mere suspicion of being ours, will they let our bullock-loads pass?' He went upstairs in great anger without a word. I went to the sorting-godown and remained there watching merchants' bales being packed for Mascareigne. When this had been done, I went to my office and thence came home.

A European trooper arrived at half-past ten to-night from our camp at Tiruviti. Finding the Valudâvûr gate closed, he fired his carbine from near the ditch. The corporal of the gate demanded who was there. The trooper replied that he brought news for the Governor about the capture of Tiruviti. The corporal then opened the gate, and took the trooper to the Governor who was awakened from his sleep, to

hear the trooper's news, that we had taken Tiruviti this evening. The Governor in great joy sent for food for him, made him eat it at once, and gave him 3 bottles of wine with 100 pagodas out of his chest. He also wrote a reply and sent him back with two harkaras at half-past eleven.

People say that the English soldiers, sepoys, etc., at Tiruviti sent their property off to Fort St. David last night, and then all departed with all their weapons. In ignorance of this, our people went on firing cannon and mortars all the afternoon. As there was no one in the fort, there was no reply ; but our people thought they were keeping quiet only to deceive us ; so they sent a few coolies to find out. When they returned and said that there was no one in the fort, 100 horsemen and a few peons were sent. They also returned with the same news. Then the French troops, Morâri Râo and others entered the fort, inspected it, and hoisted the white flag. They found in the fort 29 French soldiers and 12 officers formerly captured by the English, and with them one English officer and a soldier. So the story goes.

Tuesday, May 8.[1]—I went to the Governor this morning and congratulated him on the

[1] 30*th Chittirai, Srîmukha.*

capture of Tiruviti with a nazar of 21 pagodas. The Company's merchants gave 70, and complimented him, saying that he would enjoy all happiness and occupy the Moghul throne. The Governor joyfully answered that he would then give me one country and the merchants another. The Kârikâl priest, who is the Superior of the St. Paul's Church, asked in Telugu what this was compared with the knowledge of God. I replied that that could be attained only after attaining a knowledge of this world. The Superior answered that the knowledge of God should come first. I repeated what I had already said. He replied, 'You speak well, and none can equal you in converse among the Europeans, the Muhammadans or the Tamils. That is why I say you should know God.' I replied, 'My hope is to learn to love God after knowing all there is in this world.' The Governor interposed and said that the Superior was using much Tamil in his Telugu. I said that the Telugu spoken in the Tamil country was always like that.

Razâ Sâhib and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib then came with nazars to congratulate the Governor on the capture of Tiruviti. I went to my office. Pâpayya Pillai gave a nazar of 50 pagodas to the Governor and the same to Madame. Madanânda Pandit gave 5 rupees, and Periyanna Nayinâr 11 rupees, Mukunda Râo (Morâri

Râo's vakîl), Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan (the Mysore Râjâ's vakîl), Mîr A'azam and others also congratulated the Governor with nazars.

I hear a letter has been written to Morâri Râo, saying that Pâpayya Pillai has been ordered to take possession of Tiruviti, Bhuvanagiri, Porto Novo, Tîrtanagari, etc., which form the Panchmahal country.

I also hear that Tillai Maistry was sent for and told to send masons, maistries and earth-diggers to Tiruviti to demolish the fort.

At two o'clock I bathed and was about to eat when harkaras came and told me that they had delivered letters from Salabat Jang, M. Goupil, etc., to the Governor at eleven o'clock, and delivered to me a letter from M. Goupil on gilt paper and another written in Marathi. Having received them, I asked the harkaras when they had left Salabat Jang's camp. They said, '21 days ago.' I asked them where the camp was. They replied, 'The camp is at a small town (I don't know the name) lying on the Godavari,[1] 80 kos beyond Hyderabad and south of Aurangabad. He

[1] The camp seems to have been at Mahur, in the north of the modern Adilabad taluk of the Nizam's Dominions. Gentil (*Mêmoires sur l'Indoustan,* pp. 57—78) says they marched from Gulburga to Udgîr, whence Bussy departed for Masulipatam ; then to the Gunga (the Godavari), and then to 'Mahor, forteresse situèe sur une montague,' where they stayed a month and were much oppressed by the heat before setting out for Aurangabad. If I am right, the camp was not on, but some sixty miles north of the Godavari.

will stay there a month and then pass the rains at Golconda. We have brought the Governor a parwâna for the Carnatic subah. Salabat Jang has spent all his money, so that the Europeans there are four months in arrears, and the cavalry and the sepoys, etc., eight months. The troubles caused on this account by the horsemen and the sepoys may ruin the camp, unless affairs can be settled with money from here. So Salabat Jang has written to the Governor to send money. We do not know whether M. Goupil has written for money in consequence of the state of affairs, or whether it will be sent from here by sea to Masulipatam and carried up to Hyderabad, or whether sowcars' bills will be obtained and sent. We will come for your letters as soon as we receive his, so have them written.'—'Very well,' I said and inquired whether Nizâm 'Alî and Salabat Jang were on good terms. They replied, 'Saiyid Lashkar Khân and Râjâ Râmachandra Râo have made peace between them, and Nizâm 'Alî is marching in advance, and Saiyid Lashkar Khân has appointed some one to manage affairs for him as dîwân. The people at the camp say that Salabat Jang is but a boy, attends little to business, and thinks of nothing but eating, drinking and women.' I then dismissed them, asking them to come back before they

departed with the Governor's letters. I placed the Telugu and Marathi letters on the table to be read afterwards and went to eat.

The Kârikâl priest at the St. Paul's Church said, 'I hear that you have permitted the celebration of the *Kinni-thêr*[1] festival by the blacksmiths in honour of Kâli. This has not been celebrated for five or six years. A festival which has long ceased ought not to be revived. I shall tell the Governor.' I replied, 'Owing to the English troubles, no festivals were celebrated in the several temples; but, when I spoke to the Governor, he ordered the celebration of festivals as before. Therefore this also is being celebrated.' He went away, saying that it ought not to be allowed.

When the King of France lately bestowed the title of Marquis upon the Governor, and a feast was given in his honour, the blacksmiths, etc., went to the Governor and said, 'Sir, pray permit us to celebrate the festival,' and the Governor permitted them to do so. I sent a message about this to the Padré by a teacher at the St. Paul's Church.

Three Danish gentlemen came in a sloop from Tranquebar, on their way to Bengal to

[1] Literally cup-car, so called from the upper part being decorated with rows of bell-metal cups. It is used only in processions performed by night, and seldom except in honour of a female deity. (Note kindly furnished by Mr. M. Srînivâsa Ayyangâr.)

build a new factory there.[1] After visiting the Governor they went aboard their sloop this afternoon, and a salute of 11 guns was fired by the Fort.

[*Saturday*], *May 12.*[2]—When I went to the Governor to report the news this morning, he told me that that could wait and added, 'See how fortunate I am! I supposed that my title of Marquis could not be used by any one after me, as I have no sons, so that what I have obtained with such labour would become extinct; but the King, knowing well that I have no hopes of a son, has ordered that my elder brother's son shall enjoy the title after me. Hitherto such a privilege as this, to which I was destined, has never been known in France; so I am the luckiest man in the world.' I replied, 'Who doubts it? What other Frenchman could have slain Nâsîr Jang, Subahdar of the Deccan, and ruled over it? Ahmad Shâh Pâdshâh himself so feared you as he sat upon his throne at Delhi, that he courted your friendship and desired your help. Who else could have been destined to such fortune? By your great deeds, you won this title of Marquis; and, as you have no

[1] The Danish Company did not secure the right of establishing factories in Bengal until 1755, when Serampur was founded. Lannoy et Linden, *Expansion coloniale—Néerlande et Danemark*, p. 425.

[2] *3rd Vaigâsi, Srîmukha.*

son, your elder brother's son will inherit it and others after him. Who can wonder at it?'

As I said so, he took off his cap in thanks. I thanked him in return, and said, 'All these are but signs that by God's grace men will address you as "Sire." Who can doubt it? What else is there?' He thanked me again.

M. Bertrand then came, and the Governor told him. M. Delarche, M. du Bausset and other Europeans also came, and the Governor repeated it to them too in a transport of joy. Then he went upstairs. M. Bertrand said, 'With the Governor a piece of very good luck has always been followed by something very bad. So it has been with him up to now; and, depend upon it, this good luck will be followed by trouble.'—'Really?' I asked as though I knew nothing of it. 'Write it down,' he said, 'see if it does not come to pass;' and then he related the good and bad that have happened till now.

I then went to the sorting-godown, where M. St. Paul was examining the Company's coarse blue-cloth for Mascareigne. When I told him about the King's patent permitting the title to descend to the Governor's family, he said, 'The Governor was recommended for the title of Marquis in Europe by the King's concubine, Madame de Pompadour, and actually secured it, owing to the King's love of her;

otherwise he would never have got it. The King has given the title to many others.' He then mentioned a few Europeans who had obtained the same rank in Europe. I then went to my office.

The Governor sent for me at half-past six this evening; and when I went, he said with a smile, 'As you said, the whole of 1752 was a time of extreme ill-fortune for me; but this year, I have seen better days. Your words have come true. In future, I will follow your advice.' I write what he said, for I think he meant it. He added, 'As you have charge of the Company's affairs, look well to them.' I replied with respect that I would do so, and added, 'Have you not bestowed such privileges on me, that my single name is known even at Delhi? My season of ill-fortune made you doubt me; but now my good time has come, and even the Pâdshâh of Delhi is not my equal. You will ascend the throne of Delhi; and because your good fortune and mine fall together, when you become Pâdshâh, I shall be your vizier.' When he complimented me, I returned his compliments.

He then said, 'The Company wants 50,000 pagodas' worth of blue-cloth this year. I shall give an advance to-morrow.' I agreed. The Second asked if I could get the whole quantity. The Governor replied, 'Ranga

Pillai must collect the whole quantity; no one else need supply a thread. Of the 500 bales, let half be Salampores and the rest brown.[1] I shall give you the order on Monday.' M. St. Paul and M. du Bausset were both present at this conversation.

He then showed me his finger saying, 'The ruby set in this ring shines like fire. Look at it in the lamp-light.'—'True,' I said, 'it is like the rising sun.' He nodded in token of his approval, and complimented me. I then took leave, as I had to go to the office.

To-night Kâli was drawn in the *kinni-thêr.*

Monday, May 14.[2]—I did not go out to-day as I was unwell. The Governor also took medicine this morning, having been sick last night; so his door remained closed, and I hear that no one was allowed in.

I heard the following news to-day:—Johannes Spitz, who has been chief of the Dutch factory at Sadras for the last 36 years, and who has had an abscess in his back for the last month and a half, died at twelve o'clock on Friday, May 11. When first this Johannes Spitz was chief at Sadras, there were certain caste-disputes which could not be

[1] This seems to imply that Salampores were bleached cloth; but I do not remember other instances indicating this use of the word, and normally, in the English records, at all events, it appears to mean half-pieces of long-cloth.

[2] *5th Vaigâsi, Srîmukha*

settled, so he transported two persons of each side to Africa. When S'aadat-ul-lah Khân, the Subahdar of Arcot, heard this, he declared that Sadras belonged to the Sarkar, that the Dutch could trade there but not seize the Sarkar's people or transport them ; and angrily ordered him to restore the people[1] and pay a fine. After some discussion he agreed to pay a fine to the Sarkar and wrote about it to Negapatam. But the Governor there replied that he would have nothing to do with it, as the money paid to the Sarkar might be entered in the Company's accounts, and that the other was answerable for it to the Company. This was then reported to Batavia, and an order was sent that the sum paid to the Sarkar out of the Sadras factory must be made good out of his pay. Though he served 31 years after that, yet at his death his property, including goods, cloth and ready money was only 1,500 pagodas. I have not heard any other news.

Tuesday, May 22.[2]—This morning 34 bales of Yânâm cloth were sorted at the Fort. I reported this and other news to the Governor. I hear that two French deserters, who had fought against their own nation, were among those taken at Tiruviti. The Second and the

[1] Reading *nabaru* for *kaburu*. [2] *13th Vaigâsi, Srimukha.*

officers held a council, and resolved that both should be hung. One of them was taken to the camp at Tiruviti to be hung, and the other is in prison. We shall see what is done with him.

A servant of Arunâchala Pillai seized a letter written by Pâpayya Pillai's Brâhman who was with our troops attacking Chidambaram, and who was spying on behalf of those in the Fort. He delivered it to a European there to be sent to the Governor, who kicked and beat Pâpayya Pillai, telling him angrily that his man must not behave like that. Thereupon Pâpayya Pillai reported this and that to Madame, and made her believe that Arunâchala Pillai was in correspondence with the killedar. A letter was written in the Governor's name, and Arunâchala Pillai was seized and imprisoned in the Fort at six o'clock this evening. His elder brother's son was imprisoned at the Nayinâr's house four days ago. Pâpayya Pillai can do such things only because the times are evil.

Wednesday, May 23.[1]—As to-day was the Pillai Avargal's ceremony, I bathed at sunrise and distributed rice, etc., to Brâhmans ; and as it was the day of the Varadarâja Perumâl car festival (the ninth day of the festival), I told

[1] *14th Vaigâsi*, *Srîmukha*, 'Varadarâja Perumâl's festival, and the anniversary of the death of Pillai Avargal,' the diarist notes in the margin.

Annâswâmi, Appâvu and others[1] to put on their best raiment and attend the procession, with palankin, horses, pipers, etc. I myself went to the Fort at eight o'clock. For the last week the Governor has been suffering from severe headaches at night. Yesterday he even fainted with the pain, in spite of fomentations. This morning, however, he came down and drank tea; so I reported the news to him. He said, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân has reached Trichinopoly by a stratagem, defeated Nandi Râjâ of Mysore and his army, and removed his treasure. La Volonté Kônapparangi however advanced with our troops and covered Nandi Râjâ's escape. Unless our troops there are joined by our people at Tiruviti, and Morâri Râo, Nandi Râjâ cannot stand. So I shall send them.'—'That should be done,' I said. As his headache then increased, he went upstairs. I performed my devotions to the God and came home.

Thursday, May 24.[2]—At seven o'clock this morning, I went to the Governor, and reported the news. He then said, 'The *Hercule*, the Europe ship bound for China, arrived here on May 10. The *Lys* sailed from Europe thirteen

[1] Annâswâmi (who has been already mentioned, Vol. VII, p. 400 *supra*) was the diarist's son, who was born in 1748 (Vol. IV, p. 305 *supra*). Appâvu was the son of Tiruvêngada Pillai, Ranga Pillai's younger brother.

[2] *15th Vaigâsi, Srimukha.*

days before her ; and I told you would arrive in a day or two. She did not sight Colombo or Galle, and was driven up to Sadras. She will reach the roads in an hour or so. She has on board 300 Europeans, including officers, and a large cargo. The Company in Europe is flourishing.' He spoke joyfully about these affairs and I replied suitably. We thus talked together.

A peon came to me, on the stroke of twelve, and said that the Governor wanted me. When I went, he complained that no Salem or Udaiyârpâlaiyam cloth had come in. I replied that the pack-bullock would set out as soon as Morâri Râo's harkaras arrived there.

He then said, 'The *Dauphin*, which sailed from here last year with a cargo, arrived safely. As there were no goods on hand, her cargo sold well, so that the Company writes with more gratitude than I can say, and demands large quantities this year also. Though they have not sent the ships they promised, still there will be no delay, for I have sent large quantities by the country ship, the *Anson*[1], so the Company will be still more delighted by her arrival.' I replied, 'You forget the 700 and odd bales you also sent by

[1] The *Anson* was an English Company's ship taken off Bombay in 1747 by two French privateers. See Vol. IV, p. 176 and n. *supra*. She had been employed subsequently in 'voyages de l 'Inde en l 'Inde,' and that is why, I suppose, Dupleix calls her a country ship.

the *Bristol*. When she arrives, the Company will have yet more ground for pleasure. But though in one way the Company is alone to blame,[1] in another you must bear the blame with the Company.'—'How is that?' he asked. I replied, 'The Company is to blame for promising ships which they did not send. But for these three years, the Company's trade has been carried on while you have been conquering so many countries in all directions, that they forgot their trade and the despatch of ships. This is your fault.'

M. du Bausset, M. Bertrand and one or two ships' captains were present. The Governor said to the Europeans with a smile, 'Ranga Pillai is very clever. He has not his equal in India or Europe for framing his words according to times and seasons, or for settling matters and speaking so as to please all.' In reply to his words of delight, I added, 'The emperor Aurangzîb, Louis XIV, and other kings could hardly conquer a single country with all their might and years of effort. Aurangzîb Pâdshâh took 12 years to conquer Bijapur; Zulfiqâr Khân took as long to capture Gingee with a great army. But strong as Gingee is, you took it in an hour with 1,000 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys. You caused the head of

[1] *Sc.* for the shortage of ships.

Nâsîr Jang to fall in an hour though he was lord of the Deccan, with an army of a lakh of horse and 10 lakhs of foot—such is the power of your fortune. Other kings are not to be compared with the dust on your shoes.' The Governor said he did not merit such praise, but nevertheless talked about it to the Europeans with him.

He then turned to me and said, 'You had better go home, eat and return with the merchants. I will give you an order for the advances to be made under the contract. About the presents ready to be sent to the Cuddapah nawâb, I will send them to you by Shujâ'at Khân. Have them prepared and send them with a reply.' I agreed, salaamed, and came home.

At noon, the *Lys* which left Europe on September 1, 1752, anchored in the roads, and the captain fired a salute of 11 guns. She has brought only 20,000 marcs of silver but twice as much broad-cloth, velvet, *étoffes d'or*, muskets, etc. The Governor wrote to Europe, in the exuberance of his joy at the death of Nâsîr Jang, that no money need be sent for the contract, as he himself would collect goods and have them sent,[1] but that ships should be sent without delay; therefore only a small

[1] Cf. Dupleix' letter to the Company of February 15, 1751, *ap.* the Mémoire pour le sieur Dupleix, pp. 61-62.

quantity of silver has been sent. The ship also has brought 24 European guards for the Governor and 24 trumpeteers, etc.

Sunday, May 27.[1]—Owing to a severe headache, the Governor did not go to church this morning. But when the councillors and the other Europeans returned at nine o'clock, he came down and drank tea as usual, while the others drank coffee. When I had reported the news, I went to my office.

At ten o'clock to-night I heard that M. Maissin and Mudâmiah had written to the Governor, that a cowle had been given and received, on which the white flag of the French had been hoisted on the Chidambaram fort, on condition that a lease of the Chidambaram and Mannârkôyil countries should be given to the Nawâb of Cuddapah,[2] at the usual rent to be paid to the Governor; Muhammad 'Alî Khân is to pay the balance of last year's rent not yet paid to the English; and for the present a lakh of rupees is to be paid.

Monday, May 28.[3]—Nandi Râjâ wrote five or six times to the Governor asking for Hasan-ud-dîn Khân's services. But the Governor replied contemptuously that he had only earned his name by being under European command

[1] *18th Vaigâsi, Srimukha.*
[2] Cf. Vol. VII, p. 229, *supra.*
[3] *19th Vaigâsi, Srimukha.*

and that no one could be more incapable. Nandi Râjâ then wrote again repeating his request as his army had no commander. I hear that the Governor has sent for Hasan-ud-dîn Khân and ordered him to collect men and join Nandi Râjâ.

It is said that M. Law has been sent in command of 150 soldiers, to join the troops near Chidambaram for its protection.

Wednesday, May 30.[1]—The Governor was in a good temper this morning when I visited him. Auliyâ Sâhib said, 'You sent for me ; so I came, and have been waiting, though nothing has been bestowed upon me. Be pleased to allow me at least my jaghir, so that I may be able to live here on its proceeds ; it yields 1,500 to 2,000 rupees.' So saying he gave me a writing. The Governor agreed to do so.

Saiyid Shâh then came and said, 'The writer d'Almeyde is placing the batta-money for my horse to the account of the 700 rupees I owe M. de la Volonté. If I may draw the amount monthly from Vinâyaka Pillai, it will be a great help to me.' The Governor objected somewhat, but afterwards said that he would speak to the Arumpâtai. 'Alî Khân then came and presented a petition, saying, 'When I was sent prisoner to Mahé by M. Bury, I delivered

[1] *21st Vaigâsi, Srîmukha.*

to him my elephant, horses and the money arising from the pensions of the dead women[1] and then departed. But he wrote that the horses had been lost when Chandâ Sâhib perished at Trichinopoly, and that the rest had been expended on maintenance. Now please order M. Delarche to send for the people and settle the matter.' On seeing M. Delarche's name mentioned, he asked angrily what he was wanted for. The truth was hidden from him by saying that the European had made a mistake when ordered to draw up a statement showing the allowances due to the women of the 60 dead men. He said, 'Why should I pay allowances for 60 dead people? The women are indeed allowed half-pay till their death, but afterwards nothing should be paid. The women are at Mahé; no one knows if they are alive or not: and the people here are simply keeping the money in their own hands, as Lotis[2] did for some time. That is why I have stopped the pay for ten months.' Lotis replied, as if he was perfectly innocent, that he had not made a single cash. 'Alî Khân then interposed and said, 'This is why I have come back from Mahé; all but me have benefited under your rule.' The Governor frowned at

[1] *Sic.* It should be understood, I think, as 'pensions granted to the wives of the dead.'
[2] See below, p. 349.

this; and said, 'He does not think before he speaks. When his master[1] and he came from Mahé, they had not money to buy themselves coats. How then did these people get a crore of rupees in ready money, a mansab of 7,000 horse, and the Fish and other marks of honour, and jaghirs yielding 20 lakhs or 30 lakhs? Whence came all that he has lost? Was it got here or did he bring it with him from Mahé? Why, they had not coats to wear when they came here!' The Governor then said in the presence of all, 'Of all the Europeans, Muhammadans and Tamils I have known, none equals Monsieur Ranga Pillai in intelligence, in foresight, in giving timely advice, or in his zeal for work and his capacity to make or mar the kingdoms of kings.' I thanked him, saying, 'You exalt your slave. Your good fortune bestows royal dignity on those who but touch the dust on your feet. As I am the slave of so fortunate a man as you, what wonder if I attain glory?' He was overjoyed at this, and, turning to 'Alî Khân, said, 'I will order the allowances of the dead people to be paid and make you rich. Get your property from M. Bury; if he demurs, I will issue orders.'

He then turned to me and said, 'They say that Mr. Saunders, the Governor of Madras, is

[1] *i.e.*, Shaikh'Abd-ul-rahmân.

dead, and that Mr. Starke has been summoned to Madras. Is that true?' I replied. 'Dôst Muhammad *alias* Lotis says so, and it may be true. He says the news came from a man at Mylapore. The wonder is that men live, not that they die. When we see a child die who was born but yesterday, it is not strange that a man of 50 should die. I had only heard that Mr. Saunders was in ill-health. People say that Mr. Starke has been sent for.'

Formerly one Savari Pillai, a Christian of Kârikâl, showed to some merchants at Negapatam certain pendants and precious stones, which he offered as a pledge, but then left with them a box of common stones, and fled to Kârikâl. This fellow came here to study the *Tiruchelvarâya Purânam.*[1] The merchants whom he had cheated complained to M. Le Riche at Kârikâl, and came here with a letter from him to the Governor, and the Second. As the affair had taken place there, M. Barthélemy was directed to enquire into it when he went to Kârikâl last December or January, and settle it with the Negapatam merchants who were told to accompany M. Barthélemy to Kârikâl. Although Savari Pillai was also ordered to go, he not only

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[1] The Rev. Father Carty, S.J., informs me that this was probably the versified life of some holy personage.

remained here (for as a Christian, he was protected by the priests and Madame), but also he tried to get the merchants brought back, pretending that he had been tricked into giving his bond by a Kammâla woman of Tanjore[1] who had been living in his house ; and then endeavoured to get his bond back by persuading the priests and Madame to speak to the Governor and the Second and petitioning the latter to tell M. Barthélemy to send the merchants here. The Governor, however, said angrily, 'He should have gone to M. Barthélemy or M. St. Paul to settle the business instead of troubling me ; he is a thief, who ought to be hung for such a trick.' Dôst Muhammad and Appu said that Madame had told him to appeal to the Governor. 'Well,' the Governor said to Appu, 'ask M. St. Paul to write to M. Barthélemy to send the merchants here.' So Appu went to tell M. St. Paul. The Governor then went upstairs and I went to my office.

[1] See Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III, pp. 106, etc.

JUNE 1753.

Wednesday, June 6.[1]—I hear that the Governor has been busy these two or three days writing to Salabat Jang for a lease of the Carnatic at the rate paid to the Nizâm in S'aadat-ul-lah Khân's time. I also hear that, when the Governor asked Muhammad Tavakkal and others, about the terms of the lease in S'aadat-ul-lah Khân's time, they told him that 12 lakhs were paid to the Nizâm, 3 lakhs to the Marathas, and 2 lakhs of rupees for darbâr expenses, besides the separate peshkash to the Nizâm for Trichinopoly and Tanjore; S'aadat-ul-lah Khân had moreover to spend about a crore of rupees when he visited the Nizâm (which was twice or thrice) to obtain a release; and Anwar-ud-dîn Khân paid the Nizâm 35 lakhs of rupees. When he had learnt this, he said he would write to Salabat Jang agreeing to pay at S'aadat-ul-lah Khân's rate.[2]

[1] *28th Vaigâsi, Srîmukha.*

[2] The figures given in the text cannot be easily reconciled with other recorded statements. Thus (in *Military Consultations*, 1755, p. 143) we read that in Safdar 'Alî's time the Arcot country used to produce 33 lakhs of rupees; but perhaps this should be understood as exclusive of the tribute to the Nizâm and the Marathas. In that case the Nawâb's statement to Clive (*Orme MSS.*, *Various*, Vol. 288) that the Arcot country under Anwar-ud-dîn used to produce 100 lakhs (I suppose inclusive of tribute) hardly exceeds the limit of pardonable exaggeration.

I hear that the Governor has also been busy these three days writing to M. Bussy who has rejoined Salabat Jang.

Friday, June 8.[1]—The Governor went to church at seven o'clock this morning with the Second, the officers, etc., and heard mass. On their return, the Governor, Second and other officers held a council, in the great dining-hall in the *Gouvernement* on the ground-floor, where a table was placed.

Seven or eight days ago the Englishmen who were taken at Tiruviti were imprisoned by the North Gate. One of the gate guards, a French soldier, stabbed one of the English prisoners in the course of a dispute. As it has been decided to hang him, the sergeant of the main-guard was sent to fetch him from the Fort prison. The sergeant went accordingly and brought the prisoner with his hands tied behind his back, with a guard of 10 musketeers. When he had been examined, it was resolved to hang him near the North Gate, and an order was signed. He was then permitted to make his soul at the Fort church. When the council had broken up, and the Governor taken his tea, I reported the news and then went to my office.

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[1] *30th Vaigâsi, Srîmukha.*

As it seemed useless to hang the soldier, as resolved this morning, only for killing an Englishman, he was carried with frequent halts to the North Gate, according to the custom, as though to be hanged; and at dusk he was taken to the gallows, and a rope put round his neck; but then he was released, put into a covered palankin, and taken to the hospital, so that the English might suppose he had been hung.

I hear the following news:—

Two nights ago, a bill of exchange for 3 lakhs was received from Nandi Râjâ of Mysore on account of the 4 or 5 lakhs promised to the Governor, drawn on Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji's gumastah, Âchâram Tarwâdi, at a month and a half's sight. On seeing the bill, the Governor was very angry with Venkatanâranappa Ayyan of Mysore about the date of maturity. Venkatanâranappa Ayyan replied, 'I am only the vakîl. Of what use getting angry with me? I cannot act against the written order of my master. Large bills of exchange are never drawn payable at sight.' The Governor answered angrily, 'I will recall my troops and the bill of exchange can be torn up.' Venkatanâranappa Ayyan replied that he must do as he pleased. Here the Governor's wife interposed and told him to go, saying that she would explain matters. After thus sending

away Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, the Governor decided that after all a bird in the hand was worth two on the wing; and asked Tarwâdi, Bukkanji's gumastah, if he could pay the amount before the limited time. He replied that he could not. The Governor almost tore up the bill in anger, but, recollecting himself, told him to go.

I also hear that Morâri Râo has written urgently that 1,25,000 rupees is already 15 days overdue. Mukunda Râo is daily asking the Governor for it, and the latter is pressing Pâpayya Pillai about it.

This evening the Governor received a letter saying that M. Maissin, the commander, had captured Vriddhachalam fort from the English. He replied that the fort should be destroyed.[1] It is reported that there were 15 Englishmen, 200 Tamil troops, and 15 Topasses in the fort.

Tuesday, June 12.[2]—I heard this morning that the French had taken Kalkurichi from the English.

I also hear that one of Mudâmiah's people, a Muhammadan, has come from Chidambaram, to offer a lakh of rupees if he is continued in the possession of his pargannah.

[1] Reading *Yidichchu* for *pidichchu*
[2] *2nd Âni, Srîmukha.*

Thursday, June 21.[1]—As it was the feast of the Holy Sacrament, the Governor, the councillors, etc., went in procession with the host, followed by troops with fixed bayonets. During mass three salutes were fired; and then [the soldiers] fired four or five times. Afterwards all returned to the *Gouvernement*, where they took tea and coffee downstairs. Then the Governor and Madame went upstairs, and I went to my office.

I hear the Governor retired so abruptly because Salabat Jang, Saiyid-ul-lah Khân,[2] etc., have marched to Aurangabad with their troops, leaving the French soldiers under M. Goupil and other Europeans, and Shaikh Ibrâhîm and other Muhammadan infantry at Hyderabad[3]; M. Bussy is also remaining there; and there is other bad news as well; so that he must write letters thither.

Friday, June 22.[4]—When I went to the Governor at eleven o'clock, I found him considering the news, which is as follows:—

The European, M. Astruc and M. La Volonté *Kônapparangi*, marched with 300 soldiers, infantry, guns, etc., to help Nandi Râjâ, the dalavâi of Mysore, who is

[1] *11th Âni, Srîmukha.*
[2] *Quere*, Saiyid Lashkar Khân.
[3] 200 French accompanied Salabat Jang; the remainder marched under Goupil to Hyderabad. Gentil, *Mémoires sur l' Indoustan*, p. 59.
[4] *12th Âni, Srîmukha.*

commanding the Srîrangam camp in order to take Trichinopoly.

Kônapparangi and M. Astruc, the commander, marched with their own troops, guns, etc., and a few of Nandi Râjâ's troops to the Sandapêttaimalai,[1] beyond the Cauvery, where they entrenched, in case of being attacked. For a week neither Muhammad 'Alî Khân nor the English did anything ; but on the eighth day, the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops fell upon *Kônapparangi's* troops by night. As it was the dead of night, when they lay sleeping and defenceless, they could not resist, but many were seized where they lay, and many others were killed by the firing. The survivors fled with difficulty to Srîrangam. On this, Nandi Râjâ, summoning *Kônapparangi* and M. Astruc, angrily complained of their carelessness which had delivered their armies, munitions of war, guns, tents, etc., into the enemy's hand and ordered them to remain at the four-pillared *mantapam* near *Râyagôpuram*.[2] Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops and the English set fire to our

[1] Father Newton, S.J., who has made a special study of the topography of Trichinopoly plain, informs me that this is the rock named by Orme the French Rock. The action mentioned in the text below is not referred to by Orme ; and must have been a very minor affair, somewhat exaggerated in the report here recorded.

[2] The name still borne by the southern *gôpuram* of the Srîrangam temple.

entrenchments and carried off the muskets, cannon, elephants, horses and all other moveables into the fort of Trichinopoly.

On receiving this news, the Governor called Mukunda Râo and others (Morâri Râo's gumastahs) and angrily declared that the English had only attacked because of their secret help. In order to divert[1] his anger, I went to pay my respects and reported the news. [He said], 'No broadcloth has been taken [ ].'

The news this evening is that Saiyid Lashkar Khân sent Salabat Jang off to Aurangabad, telling him to write to Pondichery that the 8 lakhs of rupees due to the Europeans must be met out of the 50 lakhs due from the Carnatic, and that the balance should be paid without delay. He also proposed that the Europeans should be sent away and told to remain either at Hyderabad or Masulipatam, till after the rains, as large sums were due from Guntur and other large pargannahs in the Masulipatam country. M. Goupil has written to the Governor about this. His letter arrived to-day. M. Goupil and the French troops are said to have marched two stages towards Hyderabad.

Saturday, June 23.[2]—When I had reported the news to the Governor this morning,

[1] Reading *muttukkoduththu* for *muttaikkoduththu*.
[2] *13th Âni. Srîmukha.*

he said, 'The English Company must have gone bankrupt, for no money has been sent out to Madras. 80,000 pagodas are due to Madame Medeiros, and large sums are due to the Armenians, Tamils and others. Mr. Saunders has been able to give them nothing but promises.'[1] I agreed and added that English ships from Europe passed by here yesterday morning on their way to Madras. 'True,' the Governor said, 'we shall get news of a new Governor at Madras.' He then heard that Europe ships had been sighted, so he went upstairs and I went to my office.

The *Saint-Priest*, a Europe ship which left Europe in December, anchored here at noon to-day. The Captain M. Haumont, fired a salute, and then came ashore. He is a short paunch-bellied man.

As it was the eve of the feast of St. John, this evening the Governor, the councillors, priests and others went in procession and lit the bonfire built as usual south of the Fort. Salutes were fired, with shouts of '*Vive le roi*.' After watching the fireworks, he went home to the Fort. Some of the councillors also went home, others visited Madame Dupleix, as it is her name-day.

[1] The Nawâb's debt at this time amounted to 20 lakhs, so no wonder the English were short of money.

Both when he stood before the assembly, and when the priests chanted, when he took up the torch to lit the bonfire, when the chanting began again, and when he was watching the fireworks, which took about half an hour, he never smiled once, and was as dull and listless as the rest. He had lost that royal air and dignity which, though he were surrounded by a lakh of people, used to mark him as the master of them all, while the Goddess Lakshmi danced in his face. Why now has this royal grandeur vanished? Some misfortune evidently has happened; and he has looked more sullen than ever since the ship arrived this afternoon. I think she must have brought bad news. Meeting a councillor, I asked him privately if the new ship had brought important news. He replied, 'Abbé Padré, with trumpets and other instruments of music, some opera-dancers and a great clock, etc., had reached the port of L'Orient with all this and was ready to go aboard this ship, when he received a letter from the Governor's nephew, M. Bacquencourt, ordering him to return to Paris. He therefore directed the instruments of music, musicians, opera-girls, the watches, clocks and those skilled in their making, not to be embarked until his return, and himself set out post-haste for Paris, writing a letter to explain that he had been

summoned back to Paris by a letter received by a horse-messenger. Five or six days later, this ship sailed, as it would take him twenty days to go and return, even if he stayed but a night at Paris. I do not know why he was recalled to Paris; but all suppose that something must have happened as he forbade what was in his charge to be put on board. Since the Governor read the Abbé Padré's letter, he has been depressed; but what it says we cannot tell, though the Governor has been troubled ever since this afternoon.' I then asked how many leagues it was from Paris to L'Orient. He replied, 'By our European reckoning, it is 120 leagues,—that is, 40 kâdams. It takes a month for orders to reach L'Orient. The ship which sailed in January may bring news of what has happened.'[1] I then took leave of him, and went to my office.

Monday, June 25.[2]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he said, 'I hear the Europe ship that has reached Madras has brought no treasure. When they were asked for the 80,000 pagodas owing to Madame

[1] In December, 1752, the *Dauphin* reached L'Orient, with letters of the previous February. On December 27 an English vessel, which had sailed from Madras on July 27, brought the news of the downfall of Chandâ Sâhib. Dupleix' delay in communicating this misfortune caused sharp comment in France. Cultru. *Dupleix*, pp. 356-357.

[2] *15th Âni, Srîmukha.*

Medeiros, they put her off and said that it should be paid when supplies were received from Europe. They told the Armenians, Chettis, etc., the same.' I said I also had heard this.

When we were thus talking, Jamâl Muhammad, Vijayarâma Râjâ's man, came and paid his respects. I said to the Governor, 'He wants to go home as soon as he has sold his master's grain, and has come to take his leave and obtain a reply to Vijayarâma Râjâ's letter.' The Governor replied, 'I have already written to him, and to M. Moracin[1] as well. However I will give him a letter, as is usual, when he goes. Send for Madanânda Pandit.' When the latter came, the Governor ordered a reply to be written as follows:—'I have already answered your letter and written to M. Moracin, the commandant of Masulipatam. You should concert with him what should be done to destroy the English, who are Salabat Jang's enemies. I have written to M. Moracin that, if you do this, he is to speak to Salabat Jang and forward your business; and I am writing to him again now. If only you help us as I have written, rest assured that all your affairs shall prosper to your desire. I also send a message regarding certain matters by

[1] Chief of Masulipatam, and husband of Dupleix' niece.

your gumastah, Jamâl Muhammad, who will tell you everything.' Having ordered Madanânda Pandit to write such a letter, he went aside with Jamâl Muhammad, Vijayarâma Râjâ's man, and gave him the following secret message :—

'Though your Râjâ is a zamindar under Salabat Jang, yet he helped the English, the enemies of both us and Salabat Jang ; and without this help, they could not have maintained their factories in the countries of Chicacole, Rajahmundry and Ellore. Nevertheless these same people have since brought much trouble on your master, though now they pretend to be his friends again.' Jamâl Muhammad replied, 'When you and Salabat Jang wrote a parwâna to J'afar 'Alî Khân, ordering him to destroy the factories at Vizagapatam, and other ports in those countries belonging to the English, and to drive them out, our Râjâ indeed helped them ; but now he only pretends to be their friend until with your protection (as he writes) he can punish those whom he formerly helped.' To this the Governor answered, 'I have written about this to M. Moracin ; if, according to our letter to the Râjâ, he destroys our English enemies, we will get from Salabat Jang more mansab jaghirs, covered palankins, parwânas,

and whatever else your Râjâ desires; and I myself will ask M. Moracin to supply him with powder, shot, cannon, etc., as far as he can. Convince your master of this.' Jamâl Muhammad replied, 'Your words accord with my Râjâ's wishes. I will return; and you will learn all things from the letters that will be written to the chief at Bunder and from what we actually perform.' The Governor replied that he had already written to the chief at Bunder, but that he would write again by the sloop which is sailing to-day. He then gave him a dress of honour, made of Bunder chintz, together with a piece of Aurangashahi cloth and a chintz turban for his writer. So he dismissed them.

Lakshmana Râo, younger brother of Bâpu Râo and son of Mêlugiri Pandit, came running into the Governor's presence and salaamed. The Governor asked him what the matter was. He replied, 'I have come to ask for the 20,000 rupees that our mint-people lent you.' The Governor exclaimed, 'You dog! How dare you approach me to demand payment? You shall suffer for this, you pimp!' The Governor added even worse words than these in his anger. He then called me, as I was talking with Vijayarâma Râjâ's people, and saying, 'See what this dog has done!' told me what is written above. I replied suitably, 'He must

wait of course till you are pleased to pay; and not come to demand the money. Who is he to appear before you?' The Governor continued, 'Why, the master of the country mints used to get 10,000, 20,000 and even a lakh of rupees every year; but what do they give me? After all, what has the assayer to do but prepare the standard bar of gold, for which he gets a rupee and a half in every 1,000 without spending anything? Since the silver mint was opened here he must have made ten lakhs. The smiths bear all the charges, while he makes all this money without cost or trouble. The accounts must be looked into. The Muhammadans used to get yearly presents, etc., in proportion to the amount coined and the minters' profits. But there is nothing like that here. I will appoint new assayers on a salary, so that the Company shall have all the profits.' Thus speaking, he dismissed him. I said little to Lakshmana Râo, for he knows French and was listening, so there was no need for me to say much. Such was the conversation with Lakshmana Râo; and Bâpu Râo, who had been with him, related it to Saravana Pathan.[1] Then they all went to the sorting-godown.

When Madanânda Pandit brought the letter for Vijayarâma Râjâ in a laced bag, I gave it

[1] A Tamil honorific applied to goldsmiths.

to Vijayarâma Râjâ's man and dismissed him, saying that I would write my letter at home and give it him. I then took leave of the Governor, and went to the sorting-godown.

Wednesday, June 27.[1]—I hear this evening that the Governor sent for Pâpayya Pillai and told him to get the collection and the nâttârs' accounts, duly signed by the kanungos and the deshmukhs. He said he would do so, and, after taking leave, wrote to the people in the pargannahs.

The townspeople say that M. le Marquis Dupleix and Madame are managing the government as Nawâb and Dîwân without caring what becomes of the country, like the blind-man who tried to describe the elephant.[2] The receipts are not even a quarter of the expenditure which has been daily increasing, so that the edge of business is blunted, but none troubles about it. What is done . . . [*a line missing*] is done just as it pleases him without consideration. Some ask why this is ; others answer that it is due to his ill-fortune. I write what I hear.

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[1] *17th Âni, Srîmukha.*

[2] An allusion to the popular story of the blind man who wished to know what an elephant was like. On feeling one of its legs, he exclaimed that it was like a tower ; on feeling its tail, he compared it to a snake ; on feeling its ear, he declared it must be like a winnowing fan, and so on.

Thursday, June 28.[1]—I visited the Governor when he came down to take his tea at nine o'clock; and when I had reported the news, Pâpayya Pillai came with a letter from M. Astruc, the commander of our troops at Trichinopoly, and said that the French had captured the *Kaludaimalai*,[2] about three miles from the fort, where they had taken a cannon and killed some infantry and 10 Englishmen who were there. After reading M. Astruc's letter, the Governor showed it to those present. It says:—'When the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops withdrew into the fort, we captured *Kaludaimalai*, where we found a cannon and a few muskets. Some of the garrison[3] fled, but the rest were killed. In a week's time, I shall be able to send you good news of our success.' The Governor related this to all, and then went upstairs joyfully with Madame Dupleix. I hear that harkaras have been ordered to be in readiness to carry his answer.

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[1] *18th Âni, Srîmukha.*

[2] *i.e.*, the Faqîr's Rock. This is identified as that known to Orme as the Golden Rock; but in this particular case I think the Five Rocks south of the Faqîr's Tope must be indicated. Cf. Orme *History*, Vol. I, p. 289. There are, however, difficulties in the way of either interpretation. Astruc does not seem to have attempted to seize the Faqîr's Rock till later; and the occasion of his occupying the Five Rocks was the withdrawal of the garrison.

[3] Reading *thânaiyam* for *thattânaiyum*.

JULY 1753.

Sunday, July 1.[1]—When the Governor had returned from church and taken his tea, I reported the news. He said he would inspect my Choultry to-morrow afternoon. I thanked him saying that I was fortunate. I then told Vinâyaka Pillai to have everything sent to the tamarind tope in Bommayyapâlaiyam, and went to my office. There I ordered my people to erect thatched pandals in my *agrahâram*, cover the roads with leaves, according to the European fashion, and send fruit, cakes, sweets, etc., to the Choultry for refreshment in the evening. I then came home.

I gave 20 pagodas to get powder and cannon to fire salutes on his arrival at Bommayyapâlaiyam and my *agrahâram*, and also 50 rupees for fireworks.

Monday, July 2.[2]—As the Governor was going to Bommayyapâlaiyam, I preceded him to the tope there, to make ready small mortars fixed upon posts, so that 21 might be fired on the Governor's and his wife's arrival, at the time of his taking coffee, at the time of his rising, at dinner time, at the drinking of healths, and again at night. So a salute was

[1] 21st Âni, Srimukha.

[2] 22nd Âni, Srîmukha.

fired on Madame's arrival. As the Governor was said not to be arriving till half-past ten or eleven, I paid my respects to her and went to my Choultry. He came at half-past ten, and a salute was fired. Immediately I went to the Bommayyapâlaiyam tope and paid my respects to the Governor who said, 'Bonsoir, Monsieur Ranga Pillai.'—'By your favour,' I replied, 'I am at your service.' Then Pâpayya Pillai brought a letter from Trichinopoly camp. It says:—'When Nandi Râjâ's, Morâri Râo's and the French troops were near *Kaludaimalai*, the English under Mr. Lawrence and Muhammad 'Alî Khân with his people attacked them. The French retreated with M. Astruc, their commander, abandoning their cannon, etc., and fled to Nandi Râjâ's camp throwing away all they carried.[1] All the infantry except the slain flung away their arms and fled. Bâlâji Ghorpadê, a sardâr of Morâri Râo's army, 5 or 6 jemadars and 20 or 30 troopers were killed. If the Marathas had not fought bravely, our whole army would have been destroyed. One of Nandi Râjâ's principal officers was also killed.'

I hear the Governor and Madame, after reading this letter, were very downcast. His

[1] This is the action of June 26, called by Orme the Battle of the Golden Rock, which was brought on by Astruc's seizing the Faqîr's Rock (or Golden Rock). The Tamil name is literally Ass's Rock.

face showed the same, and they did not even counterfeit pleasure. As it was after twelve, I paid my respects and proposed that they should start ; but the Governor asked Madame to visit my choultry and said he would not go himself. So Madame said she would go in the evening ; and the Governor said he would do the same. Then I took my leave and went to Tiruvêngadapuram, to have a pandal erected thatched with green leaves and see that the roads were covered with leaves. The same was done round the tank ; large flags were hoisted, *tôranams* tied, and the whole place decorated. Moreover water was sprinkled on the ground. I again ordered all the people in charge of the fireworks, dancers, etc., to be ready ; and I myself took food and waited in readiness.

Tuesday, July 3.[1]—At three o'clock this afternoon, the *Silhouette*, M. Roncourt captain, arrived from Europe, after touching at Mascareigne. I have not yet learnt how much gold she has brought.

Thursday, July 5.[2]—When I had reported the news to the Governor this morning, he said, 'M. Berthier complains that Ranga Pillai is not troubling to collect the pagodas owed him by

[1] *23rd Âni, Srîmukha.*

[2] *25th Âni, Srîmukha.*

Kôyilândi Krishnama Nâyakkan. Can you not speak to him about it?' I replied, 'I understand that he has asked M. Delarche to pay the amount, and they are arranging it with M. Delarche. It will be settled.'

Ella Pillai then complained that Muttiya Pillai had delayed the payment of what he owed him, and that when he told the Second about it, the latter only asked whence he had got so much money to lend. A petition was also presented to the Governor, saying that his family held the country-writership, and that he owned houses and other property. After reading it, the Governor gave it to me, telling me to enquire into and settle the affair. I agreed, and coming away, sent Venkatêsa Ayyan to question Muttiya Pillai. He sent word that he would give in a petition to the Governor in three days. I informed the Governor and then went to my office.

I hear that Periya Perumâl Pillai, the public accountant and manager of the Chidambaram country, who was seized and brought here on a chelinga, has been imprisoned in the Nayinâr's house.

Monday, July 9.[1]—When I had reported the news to the Governor at nine o'clock this morning, he went upstairs. I wondered why

[1] *29th Âni, Srîmukha.*

he had gone away without a word, until I heard that he was troubled at the news of Morâri Râo's urgent need of money and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's arrival at Devikôttai. The news that Muhammad 'Alî Khân is at Devikôttai is false ; nevertheless, the Governor has been told that he has been there and his informant departed with a present. The Governor will know the truth in a day or two.

Wednesday, July 11.[1]—When I had reported the news to the Governor this morning, letters were brought to him from M. Moracin, the chief at Masulipatam. He took them upstairs to read, and I went to my office.

I heard this afternoon that some Europeans were saying M. Moracin had written that the poligars had been plundering our taluks.

I hear that Sau Bhâji Râo has written to Morâri Râo that though the Carnatic belongs to him, and Morâri Râo has been ordered not to interfere with it, he has not ceased to plunder it, which it was improper of him, and that he must take heed of the consequences. Thereupon [Morâri Râo] despatched his treasure, elephants, etc., to his own country, and wrote to the Governor, enclosing Bhâji Râo's Persian letter, and saying that, as he could not stay longer, he desired permission to depart.

[1] *31st Âni, Srîmukha.*

Thursday, July [*12*].[1]—At nine o'clock this morning I went to the Governor and reported the news. He said nothing, but went upstairs, very dejectedly, and busied himself with letters to Masulipatam, Hyderabad and elsewhere. So I went to my office. Letters were received to-day from Salabat Jang to this effect:—'Although the Carnatic was delivered to you three years ago, you have paid no tribute, so that the Pâdshâh blames me for putting it in your possession. Though you know my straits for money, yet you have sent none, even after my writing about it.' I do not know what else has been written. I write what I have heard.

Saturday, July 14.[2]—The Governor talked to me pleasantly when I went this morning. He said that many were going to the Villiyanallûr car festival, and asked if I meant to go. I said, 'It is better to see you than to see many wonders.' The Governor said smilingly, 'Your words are true. Muhammad 'Alî Khân has not reached Devikôttai after all, but is demanding money at Tanjore. The Râjâ is trying to avoid giving him any, lest we should blame him, and is making excuses.' When he said that this had been written to him from Tanjore, I said that I had heard the same. He then talked

[1] *1st Âdi, Srîmukha.*

[2] *3rd Âdi, Srîmukha.*

cheerfully for about an hour about several other matters. When the Second and others came to speak with him, I took leave and went to my office.

Sunday, July 15.[1]—I visited the Governor when he returned from hearing mass. He took his tea, and gave orders about sending sepoys to Masulipatam. Then he went upstairs. I hear that he withdrew without talking to anybody, because he has to write letters to be sent by the *Devanâmpattanam* which is sailing for Masulipatam; so I went to my office.

Monday, July 16.[2]—When I reported the news to the Governor this morning, he made no reply as he was busy with his letters for Masulipatam to be despatched by the *Maurepas* and the *Devanâmpattanam* which are ready to sail. So I went to my office.

150 soldiers, cannon, shot, mortars, bombs and other munitions, are being sent by the *Maurepas.* It is said that these two ships will sail for Bengal after landing the sepoys, soldiers, cannon, etc., at Bunder.

Thursday, July 19.[3]—I hear to-day that the commander M. Astruc has written from Trichinopoly as follows:—'When Muhammad 'Alî Khân and Mr. Lawrence, the commander, marched with their troops to Tanjore, they

[1] *4th Âdi, Srîmukha.* [2] *5th Âdi, Srîmukha.* [3] *8th Âdi, Srîmukha.*

interviewed the Râjâ from whom they obtained 1,000 or 1,500 horse, 5,000 foot, and a lakh of rupees for their expenses. After leaving Tanjore they made an alliance with Tondiman, the Maravan, and others. Now they are encamped against us. Nandi Râjâ's troops cannot stand before them, and I cannot continue without assistance.' The Governor on this is said to have recalled M. Astruc.

The army at Aurangabad has been divided; and Saiyid Lashkar Khân, Sânôji Nimbâlakar, Shâh Nawâz Khân, Râjâ Chandrasên's family and other nobles with Salabat Jang's younger brother, Nizâm 'Alî Khân, and the Nânâ Bhâji Râo's son, have become enemies of the French, and resolved to drive them out of these parts. In order to accomplish this, Salabat Jang has been separated by a trick from the army which has been sent in small bodies to Golconda and elsewhere and has fallen into confusion, so that the troops, that once in the time of our prosperity were feared in far-off Delhi, are no longer regarded. As matters stand thus, Saiyid Lashkar Khân has written to the zamindars and others near Masulipatam to seize the jaghirs in those pargannahs. Owing to this and Shaikh Ibrâhîm's abuse, Râmachandra Râjâ of Ongole and other zamindars, with the help of the English have seized Bândurti (?) and other inland and coast towns. M. Dulaurens,

etc., cannot withstand them and have withdrawn to Masulipatam. So affairs are in utter confusion there also. Moreover by reason of the Marathas' ravages. Tiruvottiyûr, Tiruviti, etc. (the Panchmahals) and other countries attached to the subah of Arcot. Tirukkôyilûr, Eravâsanallûr and ten or twelve countries, the Gingee, etc., countries, 20 or 30 pargannahs in all, lie uncultivated. The English are attempting to seize some of the countries, so there is alarm every where. Not a cash has been received from the 150 and odd pargannahs of the Carnatic, for our enemies Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English have invaded them. So the Carnatic subah is also in confusion owing to the enemy. On a promise of 40 or 50 lakhs if we helped Nandi Râjâ to get Trichinopoly, M. Astruc and M. La Volonté *Kônapparangi* were sent with their troops. But, as Muhammad 'Alî Khân is so strong, the French troops have been recalled for fear of evil befalling them if they remained. They have written that they will come and are on their way. So nothing is being done in the south either. The Governor is troubled because the Company in France have sent no money this year, but only many ships to be filled with goods. Morâri Râo has eaten up 14 or 15 lakhs of rupees in the last seven months but has done nothing ; and is writing every day that

he will go. Apart from cannon, powder, shot, muskets, etc., the establishment requires a lakh or a lakh and a half of rupees every month. Four or five lakhs of rupees have been found by Pâpayya Pillai out of the collections, and this with what has been got from Murtazâ 'Alî Khân, Mudâmiah and others, and the three or four lakhs of rupees paid by the Mysore people, say 10 lakhs, amounts altogether to 14 or 15 lakhs of rupees. All this has been spent and more, and, as no more money can be got, the Governor is troubled, and angry enough to beat and kick his wife who managed affairs, and Pâpayya Pillai her agent. The Europeans, Tamils and Muhammadans, etc., in the town all say this. We do not know what will happen.

Sunday, July 22.[1]—I hear to-day that a letter was received from Morâri Râo at seven o'clock last night, to the following effect:—'Muhammad 'Alî Khân has obtained money for his expenses from Tanjore. He has marched with the Râjâ's army, escorting a train of provision-bullocks to Trichinopoly, and has paid something to his sepoys. I wrote yesterday that he had assembled the English army, his own troops, the Tanjore army, Tondiman's army, the Maravan's army, etc.,

[1] *11th Âdi, Srîmukha.*

against Nandi Râjâ; and six or seven days ago, he attacked the latter, who was defeated and his troops fled, some to Srîrangam and Tiruvânaikkôyil and some to Manappârai with Nandi Râjâ himself. The French troops and sepoys escaped to Srîrangam and Tiruvânaikkôyil. Thus their army was scattered. But as the Cauvery is in flood, Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops could not cross to attack the troops at Srîrangam and Tiruvânaikkôyil. Nandi Râjâ is collecting troops to renew the struggle. Muhammad 'Alî Khân is growing in strength. You should undertake only one affair at a time; but you indiscreetly seek to finish all affairs in different places at the same time. How can you do this, when the enemy is growing strong? You must send troops to one place only, and when you have succeeded there, you may send them elsewhere. How can you hope to succeed everywhere at once? First you tell me to march against Arcot, then against Trichinopoly, then against Devikôttai, and then against Chidambaram and Vriddhachalam. If you write thus, where can I go and how can affairs prosper? My coming has cost you money; but I have lost good sardârs, my younger brothers, and many men, without succeeding at any point. If you will pay my expenses, I will go. Your Europeans are useless. But if you will send

Shaikh Hasan, and desire me to march against a single place, I will do my best.'

I hear that the enemy's strength at Trichinopoly and the defeat of Nandi Râjâ's and our troops have vexed the Governor. On receipt of this letter, he went to Madame, and made her read the letter, after which his mind was eased.

Monday, July 23.[1]—The *Hercule* set sail this morning for Bunder and Bengal. At six o'clock this morning went aboard her M. Roth, the Director from China, under a salute of 11 guns and 11 more guns were fired when the ship set sail. He will remain a month at Bunder, then go to Bengal, and sail for Europe by the December ship. It is said that he will be made a Director of the Company when he arrives. He has lived in China for 16 years and made 6 lakhs of pagodas as *Directeur*,[2] the councillors tell me.

At seven o'clock this evening, the Company's merchants came and said that, when M. Cornet presented the account of their balances to the Governor, the latter remarked that there was a mistake in the advances and, summoning M. Guillard, told him to check the

[1] *12th Âdi*, [*Srimukha*].

[2] *i.e.*, Chief of the French factory at Canton Roth served as a Director of the Company at Paris 1755—1764 (Weber, *La Compagnie française des Indes*, p. 452).

account. M. Miran and M. Cornet had mentioned this, and said that this would be discussed next day. So I said to the merchants, 'You had better bring me your accounts. I have also kept an account and will examine it. You should also have a copy of your accounts made.' I came home from my office at half-past eight.

Tuesday, July 24.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he said, 'I have seen the merchants' accounts, and they owe about 50,000 pagodas.' I replied that they could not owe so much. 'Well,' he said, 'I will bring the account when I come back.' So he put on his coat, and went to the old *Gouvernement*,[2] saying that he would be back at eleven, when he would discuss the matter with me and decide what should be done. I went to the sorting-godown, where I found the Company's merchants whom I informed, and then went to my office. Hearing at ten o'clock that the Governor had returned to the Fort from the old *Gouvernement*, after examining old papers and burning those that were not wanted (as he did yesterday also), I went to the Fort and paid my respects to him downstairs. M. Cornet produced an account of the advances

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[1] *13th Âdi, Srîmukha.*

[2] His former residence, to the north of the citadel. The new *Gouvernement* was inside Fort Louis.

made to the Company's merchants, the value of the goods they had supplied and the balances still due. He read it, and asked, 'How can you say they owe nothing, when they owe 40,000 pagodas?' I replied, 'It must be about 39,000 pagodas according to the accounts. Perhaps M. Cornet has shown only the goods that have been baled. The details are :—Salem cloth 15,000 pagodas; with the washers, 7,000 pagodas; Orkanti Percallas, etc., 10,000 pagodas, besides 2,500 pagodas' worth of cloth in the Fort godown. Besides this, about 50,000 pagodas have been advanced for the washers' cooly and for the Kârikâl and Yânâm cloth; thus the advances are accounted for.' The Governor replied, 'The advances must stand against their names until the cloth is baled and the account is written up. That is all. That is the value of the cloth to be supplied; so your account is correct.' So saying, he gave it to M. Cornet, and told him to get an order on M. Guillard for 10,000 pagodas to be advanced to the Company's merchants. So I got an order written by M. Bertrand and M. Flacourt, and gave it to the Governor in his room upstairs. He signed it and said, 'The merchants owe 40,000 pagodas within a thousand either way. Now 10,000 pagodas more have been advanced, and the broadcloth comes to 40,000 pagodas. All this

amounts to 90,000 pagodas. If 10,000 more are advanced, it will come to a lakh, which will produce 1,000 bales of coarse and fine cloth. You have promised 500 bales of coarse blue cloth and M. Moracin has written from Masulipatam that he will send 2,000 bales of Yânâm cloth. This makes up 3,500 bales. There are about 800 bales in the Fort godown. So altogether there are 4,300 bales within a hundred or so either way; but anyhow there will be 4,000 bales which will lade three ships.' I replied, 'None can doubt it. All know the foresight and good fortune which bring you such success that even your dreams come true. When the throne of Delhi totters before you, what must be said of your power? What wonder is it that you should have got together 4,000 bales.'—'No doubt,' he said, 'but it is no small thing. The Company's merchants need not pay for the Salem cloth delivered by the Salem merchants in the presence of the St. Paul's priests. Nandi Râjâ will pay that sum and I shall recover it from the Company.'—'That should be done,' I said. He continued, 'I hear that this cloth was made for the English; but when Nandi Râjâ and the English quarrelled, the Salem mint-people were ordered to supply them with no more cloth.[1] So it was stopped and is now being

[1] Cf. Vol. VII. p. 299 and n. 1, *supra*.

sent to us.' I agreed, but observed that it had already been rejected by the English. He made no reply, but asked why the Madras people were selling their broadcloth cheaper than formerly. I replied that it depended on the state of the market. The Governor said, 'For the last three years there have been signs of the English Company's ruin, and their present management confirms this.' I replied, 'He who runs far must at last sit down.'

Then Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti came and salaamed in the door-way. The Governor asked him why Ghandhavadi Venkatarâma Chetti's big diamond had not been sold. Sêshâchala Chetti answered that the troubles had hindered business. He went into Madame's room as though he had not heard what was said.

I then went to the sorting-godown and gave orders to the Company's merchants telling them the Governor's intention to despatch bales by the shipping and added, 'You must certainly get 1,000 bales. Don't be so careless as you have been.' I repeated this a dozen times, and then, saying that Guruvappa Chetti would bear witness to my words, I told them to go to M. Guillard and get the money. When I inquired about the latter, I was told that he had taken physic. I then told them to go for the money when they pleased. They

received the order, and said that they would get it, so I went to my office.

Wednesday, July 25.[1]—To-day was a European feast-day. [The Governor] did not return from mass and take tea until ten o'clock. When he was taking his tea, a camel-messenger, who went to Nandi Râjâ at Trichinopoly four or five days ago, returned with letters. He read them and went upstairs with Madame. All went home and I did the same. The Governor looked very dejected.

The following are the contents of the letter from Nandi Râjâ, near Trichinopoly, received this morning :—'M. Astruc, the commander of your army, has received from me not only his pay and batta, but also presents of gold and silver jewels set with precious stones, worth two lakhs of rupees, as well as a lakh of rupees out of what I owe you. But in spite of all this, he picks quarrels with us, and pretending that you have recalled him, he has crossed the Coleroon with his army and reached Samayavaram. Muhammad 'Alî Khân, the English, the Tanjore people, the Maravan, Tondiman and other poligars, have joined and encamped against our army, which cannot alone attack them. Be pleased therefore to write to M. Astruc, your commander, to help

[1] *14th Âdi, Srîmukha.*

me beat the enemy; and send reinforcements, with powder, shot, guns and cannon: otherwise I myself and my army will be ruined.' On reading this cowardly letter, the Governor immediately wrote to M. Astruc and his army to march, and replied to Nandi Râjâ, saying that M. Astruc would assist him with his army to beat Muhammad 'Alî Khân and that he had been strictly ordered to remain and obey him, until Muhammad 'Alî Khân had taken to flight, that Nandi Râjâ had only paid 3 lakhs of rupees instead of the 15 lakhs he had promised, that the remaining 12 lakhs should be sent immediately, and that reinforcements, powder, shot and other munitions of war would be sent. I hear that such letters have been written to Nandi Râjâ and M. Astruc; moreover Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, the Mysore vakîl, was sent for and told to write similar letters. He had them despatched by 8 harkaras with 2 camel-messengers this afternoon. I have written accordingly.

I hear that Mudâmiah of Chidambaram, who was imprisoned in the clock-tower, has been removed to the underground dungeon by the western gate; fetters were brought, and he was threatened with being manacled unless he paid without delay. So he offered to pay 3 lakhs of rupees, but was forced to agree to pay 5 lakhs. Periya Perumâl Pillai,

who was imprisoned in the dungeon by the western gate, has been removed to the Nayinâr's house, on his agreeing to find 5 lakhs of rupees for Mudâmiah.

Saturday, July 28.[1]—This afternoon the Governor went round the fort-walls with Tillai, the maistry-mason, and the master-gunner, to inspect the batteries and shelters. He also inspected the Cuddalore Gate, etc., and ordered the necessary repairs to be done, the windows to be bricked up, the cannon which were lying on the ground without carriages, to be mounted on new carriages and powder and shot to be supplied; and all the master-gunners are to be in readiness. Afterwards he entered the Fort by the Sea Gate. During the English troubles in 1748,[2] and when Nâsîr Jang encamped near Valudâvûr, the Governor never went near the batteries, nor did he inspect them afterwards. But he now has climbed the walls, gone round the batteries for two hours, and made the cannon, etc., all ready. The townspeople all say that a European attack must be impending, and they recall in fear the war of 1748. I write what I hear.

I hear that two of Sampâti Râo's peons from Madras, who were carrying letters to Mîr

[1] 17th Âdi, Srîmukha. [2] Reading *Vibhava* for *Viya*

Madan-ul-lah Khân, who three months ago married Khâlif Khân's grand-daughter, were seized by the Nayinâr's peons on the Madras road and brought to the Governor at seven o'clock to-night. When the Governor questioned them, they replied that they had carried two or three letters about the jaghir and killa and that they knew no more. I write accordingly.

At nine o'clock I heard that they had been detained at the Nayinâr's house. Mîr Madan-ul-lah Khân's house was searched, but he heard of it and lay hid; however his wife and family have been imprisoned and peons posted at the town-gates.

Monday, July 30.[1]—Tillai Maistry went to the Governor about seven o'clock this evening with the following news:—Mu'tabar Khân, Husain Sâhib's son of Vâlikondâpuram, has collected men and seized Eravâsanallûr and eleven other places, putting to flight 300 or 400 foot, capturing the amaldâr, and killing and wounding 200 men. Now he is in possession of the country. No money can be collected there unless 1,000 or 1,500 Maratha horse, or one or two thousand foot, are sent to expel him. The Governor, thinking he was trying to make him spend money, gave him

[1] *19th Âdi, Srîmukha.*

five or six kicks, struck him seven or eight times with his hand, and ordered his chobdar to beat and imprison him in the dungeon. He then called Pâpayya Pillai and said angrily, 'This fellow is only a cooly mason; and you have lost me country yielding lakhs.' He then treated him as he had treated the other, except that Tillai Maistry was imprisoned, and Pâpayya Pillai was not. He afterwards visited the Great Lady.

Shujâ'at Khan, a Turk, arrived from Trichinopoly this morning and visited the Governor. He said that M. Astruc had treated Nandi Râjâ, the Mysore dalavâi, very dishonourably, by trying to swell the account against him, and only desisting when he had obtained ready money and jewels set with precious stones amounting to 5 lakhs of rupees, and when Nandi Râjâ's own *turra* set with precious stones, his *sarpech*, pendants, chain, etc., worth two lakhs of rupees, had been sealed up and offered as a pledge for one lakh. This packet was shown to the Governor, sealed with Nandi Râjâ's seal; and the messenger then related M. Astruc's withdrawal of his troops across the Coleroon, his return on receipt of the letter ordering him to rejoin Nandi Râjâ, and his supersession by M. Brenier. On this the Governor replied angrily, 'M. Astruc writes that you took Nandi Râjâ's

side, received much money from him, ruined our affairs and made ill blood between him and Nandi Râjâ.' Thereupon Shujâ'at Khân explained the matter. The Governor then summoned Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, the Mysore vakîl, and said, 'As our commander has disobeyed his orders, he has been dismissed and M. Brenier sent instead. Here are Nandi Râjâ's own jewels, offered as a pledge for a lakh of rupees, sealed up. I will seal the packet myself to show that I have seen it and send it with a letter by camel-messenger. You had better write as well.' The latter wrote accordingly; and the packet of jewels and letters have been sent to Nandi Râjâ at Trichinopoly. I write what I have heard.

Tuesday, July 31.[1]—The Governor did not come down this morning but took tea upstairs. I went up to pay my respects. Letters from Salabat Jang and some European at Aurangabad (whose name I do not know)[2] had come, so a Topass was sent for Madanânda Pandit to read the letters. The Governor looked very angry when he read the European's letter.

[1] *20th Âdi, Srîmukha.*

[2] It is not clear who went in command of the party which accompanied Salabat Jang to Aurangabad. The English vakîl mentions a 'M. Davettore' or 'Datore' (*Country Correspondence*, 1753, pp. 84 and 103) whom I have not identified; but Gentil (an eye-witness) speaks of Joinville (or Jainville) as if in command (*Mémoires sur l'Indoustan*, pp. 72–73). The latter was a Lieutenant of 1746, and promoted Captain 1751. Joinville also is mentioned below, p. 393.

An officer came to see him but he sent him away abruptly, saying that he must come when he was downstairs, not when he was upstairs. So I came downstairs and went to my office. M. Albert, Shujâ'at Khân, Auliyâ Sâhib, two other Muhammadans, Dôst Muhammad and others were there, but all came away with me except M. Albert and Shujâ'at Khân. The letters must have brought bad news.

AUGUST 1753.

Wednesday, August 1.[1]—At nine this morning I went to the Governor and reported the news. He said, 'I hear that Mr. Morse has been appointed Governor of Madras, and salutes of 21 guns were fired when he landed and when he entered the Fort. He did not announce his appointment till he had landed, when he showed his commission ; so then salutes of 21 guns were fired after he had landed and when he entered the Fort. I do not think that this news can be true. Have you heard anything about it ?' I replied, 'I hear that Mr. Morse has returned as a private merchant to settle his affairs which have been long lying in suspense. He has also brought his three daughters, whom he hopes to marry.[2] The Company has ordered all possible help and respect to be given him. Mr. Saunders, the present Governor, was originally Mr. Morse's private agent, then became a Company's servant and councillor, then chief of Vizagapatam, and, lastly, Governor of Madras. He has shown respect to Mr. Morse by reason of his former position ; and desires to raise his character in

[1] *21st Ádi, [Srîmukha].*

[2] Jane, Frances and Emelia Morse came out with Nicholas Morse on the *Elizabeth*. But Jane, I think, was his wife, not daughter. Frances married Charles Boddam, and Emelia, Henry Vansittart.

the eyes of the people who have been blaming him for delivering Madras to the French. This is all and I do not think that Mr. Morse has returned as Governor; nor have I heard any one say so. But he has really arrived, and salutes were fired in his honour. I hear that he has come on his own business, not on the Company's.'—'That may be,' he said and went upstairs, ordering Dôst Muhammad to brand Mirzâ 'Abd-ul-nabî Bêg's horses.

Thursday, August 2.[1]—I hear that a servant has come from Nandi Râjâ with a bill of exchange on Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji for two lakhs of rupees for the Governor, to relate to him the misdeeds committed by the Europeans. He was received with honour. After visiting the Governor and Madame, he went to lodge with Venkatanâranappa Ayyan. I also hear that Shujâ'at Khân has been sent back to Nandi Râjâ.

Saturday, August 4.[2]—M. Cornet went to the *comptoir* to-day. When I had reported the news, the Governor went upstairs, so I went to the sorting-godown. M. Carvalho then came, and said, 'Mr. Morse has reached Madras with his three daughters. Mr. Saunders wrote home that he wished to return and desired another to be sent out. The new man will

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[1] *22nd Âdi, Srîmukha.*

[2] *24th Âdi, Srîmukha.*

arrive early in September and Mr. Saunders will go home by the October ship. Mr. Starke was formerly nominated, but it was written home that a man born in India should not be appointed General, and that some one else should be sent instead; he will arrive in August or September, or perhaps in January if he goes to Bombay. Mr. Saunders always eats alone, for he dislikes company.[1] He is always writing in his room, which even his servants may not enter. When he was at Vizagapatam, he used to eat Tamil food—rice, dhall, ghee, pepper, pepper-water, pachadi, etc.—and now he never comes to table, although it is usual to entertain the captain of the guard, ships' captains, and so on—some forty persons altogether. Although he spends all his time alone writing, he is mindful of his business, and hopes to live at ease in Europe, where he will buy a park, or an estate.[2] Mr. Morse has spent all his money in Europe; he has returned to make some more and then return.[3] Otherwise he would not have come. But his return will be fruitless for trade is dead.' After

[1] In contrast to the current practice of the Governor's dinner-table being practically public.

[2] He built himself a mansion at Brill, in Buckinghamshire, and took a wife out of the family of the Pitts of Boconnoc. But no descendant of his appears to remain; and his only memorial in England was his epitaph in Brill Church now removed. He sprang from an old Bucks family.

[3] He died at Madras in 1772.

talking about these matters, M. Carvalho went away. I reached my office at half-past ten. Letters were sent to Trichinopoly by a camel-messenger.

Monday, August 6.[1]—I heard to-day that, when Murtazâ 'Alî Khân's troops, Siddhî Saiyid Khân, Shaikh Muhammad Sharîf, Hasan-ud-dîn Khân's man Gôvinda Râo, etc., approached Tiruvannâmalai, the enemy attacked them so fiercely that they retreated to Vellore, abandoning two cannon and 100 or more guns.[2] On hearing this, the Governor in anger ordered 'Alî Khân, M. Buttans [?] and the troops at Gingee to Tiruvannâmalai.

Wednesday, August 8.[3]—I hear that letters came this evening from Salabat Jang at Aurangabad and from M. Bussy at Hyderabad.[4] The harkaras say that Salabat Jang's younger brothers, Nizâm 'Alî Khân and another, have been imprisoned in the fort of Daulatabad, and that Saiyid Lashkar Khân has ordered the 200 French soldiers and their captain (M. Joinville) to depart; they have reached Golconda, and written for orders about their future movements.

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[1] *26th Âdi, Srîmukha.*

[2] Apparently the action described by Orme, *History*, Vol. I. p. 305.

[3] *28th Âdi, Srîmukha.*

[4] On his way to rejoin Salabat Jang and re-establish the French supremacy, which had been rudely shaken.

[*Thursday*], *August 9.*[1]—At ten o'clock to-day Auliyâ Sâhib took leave and departed. He said he had come because the Governor had promised to grant him certain countries with a few troops, but that, having waited seven or eight months and spent seven or eight thousand rupees, he begged at least to receive his jaghir of 2,000 rupees, wherewith to pay his expenses and perform the Governor's orders. He added that, although three parwânas had been written, Pâpayya Pillai had refused to do anything, and that he had taken leave as he could get no redress.

At half-past nine to-night, I twice heard the sound of guns. I think it was the ships, sighted to the south this evening, coming to anchor.

Friday, *August 10.*[2]—At eight o'clock this morning, the Europe ship the *Rouillé*[3] arrived from Mascareigne and fired a salute of 15 guns. Her captain is M. Triboulet [?]. M le Marquis de Conflans,[4] with 150 soldiers and a sergeant and a corporal, under his orders, has arrived by her. I hear that he is to be the commandant. He wears the small cross of St. Louis.

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[1] *29th Âdi, Srîmukha.*

[2] *30th Âdi, Srîmukha.*

[3] *Kiriliyêr* here, but later mentioned as the *Rulié.*

[4] One of these, says M. Cultru, 'que leur famille envoyait au loin pour se refaire une fortune.' Instead, he was made prisoner at Masulipatam in 1759.

Saturday, August 11.[1]—I hear that there has been a battle at Trichinopoly between Muhammad 'Alî Khân's and Nandi Râjâ's troops, in which two leaders of 500 men attacked Muhammad 'Alî Khân with their people, killing a few and scattering the rest; and returned with some horses, cannon, etc., to Nandi Râjâ, who richly rewarded the two men (whose names I do not know). The Mysore vakîl says that the Governor informed him he had received news to this effect. A camel-messenger arrived with the news at half-past ten, and at once a letter was written to M. Brenier, the commander, and sent by the camel man.

[*Sunday*], *August 12.*[2]—At five o'clock this evening, M. Renault, the European in charge of the washing-place, came and said, 'The Governor sent for me and said he had received complaints that the cloth sent by the *Rouillé* was much torn, and badly washed, and asked why I had not examined the cloth after it had been conjeed. I replied that I had done so both when it had been conjeed after washing. and when it had been given out to be pressed; but that, when the lading was being hastily completed, some torn pieces might have escaped my notice, in spite of their being

[1] *31st Âdi, Srîmukha.*

[2] *32nd Âdi, Srîmukha.*

carefully examined. He then dismissed me, telling me to be more careful. The Governor was not angry, but spoke gently.'

He also told me that this ship had left Europe on March 8, and, after touching at Anjuvâm[?], she arrived on Friday, August 10, five months and two days after she put to sea. She must have brought the latest news, because she was the last to sail. The news of Chandâ Sâhib's death, etc., must have reached England and France by the English frigate by December and so this ship must have brought orders about it.

I hear the following news to-day:—When Nandi Râjâ's army at Trichinopoly was attacking part of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's army, Muhammad 'Alî Khân reached the fort with bullock-loads of provisions,[1] and the rest of his troops. This was when Nandi Râjâ's two leaders broke into and scattered Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops. It is not known whither Muhammad 'Alî Khân has gone; Manôji Appâ has been killed and Muhammad 'Alî Khân wounded with a bullet. When Pâpayya Pillai had received the above news yesterday and reported it to the Governor, the

[1] Cf. Orme, *History*, Vol. I, pp. 299, etc. Of the bullocks 300 only were loaded with grain, and the remainder (about 3,700) 'with a heap of trumpery not worth the carriage.'

latter informed the Tamils and Europeans. One or two people have told me the same. Besides this, the Governor received a letter from Nandi Râjâ, saying that Muhammad 'Alî Khân, Manôji Appâ, etc., had retired into Trichinopoly, with their provisions, but meant to come out again and fight; the French army was ready to fly rather than encounter them, and were declaring that they could not stand with their small numbers against a superior enemy, or attack them without being overthrown; and Nandi Râjâ would withdraw if reinforcements were not sent. The Governor has replied that money is scarce here, but that Morâri Râo and his army, M. Maissin and the Europeans, the Muhammadan troopers, Tamil peons, etc., will support Nandi Râjâ, and that reinforcements are being sent.

Sunday, August 19.[1]—When I visited M. Cordier this morning, he offered me a piece of cloth of gold with a gold fringe, a female doll from China, and Japanese tea-cups and saucers with gold letters on them.[2] I accepted them, and went to the Fort at eight o'clock. It was half-past ten before the Governor had had his tea after mass; and then harkaras arrived with letters from Saiyid Lashkar Khân at

[1] *7th Âvani, Srimukha.*

[2] The Tamil of the foregoing passage is corrupt and obscure; the translation is offered under reserve.

Hyderabad. When I informed the Governor of this, he called M. Albert and Madanânda Pandit, and desired them to translate the letters. Nâganna Nâyakkan accompanied the harkaras.

Mirzâ Muhammad Bêg, the Moghul, and Srînivâsa Râo, a Maratha Brâhman, came this afternoon about the affairs of 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah at Chidambaram and the release of Mudâmiah who is in prison; but they were themselves ordered to be detained in the clock-tower.

[*Monday*], *August 20.*[1]—I hear that Muhammad 'Alî Khân attacked Nandi Râjâ's troops encamped at Allitturai; and that these were defeated and fled to Krishnâpuram with the loss of many. They say that Nandi Râjâ is pressed for money, and that he can only hold out with great difficulty.

The agents of 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah are said to have been released and conducted by a chobdar beyond the Bound-hedge.

Tuesday, August 21.[2]—I hear that Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English at Arcot have burnt the Vellore pêttai but were beaten off [from the fort].

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[1] *8th Ârani, Srîmukha.*

[2] *9th Ârani, Srîmukha.*

Wednesday, August 22.[1]—I heard at midnight that Periya Perumâl Pillai had been fetched at ten o'clock last night and ordered to pay 4½ lakhs of rupees in a week. He replied he could not. On this the Governor caught up a cane, had him bound, and gave him 40 or 50 blows, and then the Coffrees gave him 300 or 400 more, on which Periya Perumâl Pillai fainted and nearly died. When he was questioned again, he declared that he possessed only 20,000 rupees. He was then imprisoned in the under-ground dungeon, and threatened with being bound from head to foot with whip-cord and hung head downwards. I also hear that Mudâmiah will be treated similarly to-morrow night.

Thursday, August 23.[2]—I heard at midnight that, after Periya Perumâl Pillai's beating last night, he was brought up again at half-past ten and the Coffrees stood ready with ropes and canes. Periya Perumâl Pillai begged the Governor in great terror to torture him no more, and cast himself at his feet. The Governor said that the Muhammadan was obstinate, but that, as Periya Perumâl Pillai seemed to be honest, he should have the country as before. Periya Perumâl Pillai thereupon promised to pay a lakh of rupees in a

[1] *10th Âvani, Srîmukha.*

[2] *11th Âvani, Srîmukha.*

week. The Governor was satisfied and ordered him to be kept at the Nayinâr's house until he had paid. He was imprisoned accordingly, and was promised the country when he had paid the money.

Friday, August 24.[1]—M. Buttans [?] and the other Europeans at Gingee who attacked Tiruvannâmalai, Mirzâ 'Abd-ul-nabî Bêg and other Muhammadan commanders, Siddhî Saiyid Khân's, Gôvinda Râo's and other sardârs' troops sent by Murtazâ 'Alî Khân from Vellore, advanced, raised batteries and mounted guns to besiege that place. But the Brâhman Mârgasahâyan in the Tiruvannâmalai fort came out with his troops, and attacked them. Our people were defeated and the Vellore troops retired to Vellore, and ours to Gingee. M. Buttans sent in this news on reaching Gingee, and his letter arrived at midnight. So the Governor sent for Hasan-ud-dîn Khân, and ordered him to march to Tiruvannâmalai with 200 sepoys, 50 Europeans and a gun. The Europeans and sepoys set out this evening and camped outside. I hear that Hasan-ud-dîn intends to march to-morrow; he has received 1,000 rupees for his expenses.

The messengers who came this evening from M. Bussy say that, when Salabat Jang

[1] 12th Âvani, Srîmukha.

urgently demanded money, the Governor ordered M. Bussy either to return to Pondichery or to go to Masulipatam; they have brought M. Bussy's answer. He and the rest intend to go to Masulipatam.

Saturday, August 25.[1] —As to-day was the birthday of the King of France, I found the Governor wearing the cross of St. Louis in honour of the festival. The Governor had opened the great hall upstairs, the eastern hall, etc., and was receiving all the Europeans there. I also went and paid my respects, offering him a bouquet. He took it, and returned my compliments, showing me even more respect than he showed the Europeans, God alone knows why. All went to church, heard mass, and sat down to table according to their custom. The Governor drank to the King's health, bowing to the Marquis de Conflans, who has lately arrived, and asking all to drink the health. They did so, and a salute of 21 guns was fired. Salutes were also fired from the ships. The Governor then went into his room; and Madame, who had returned from church, joined him. The Governor sent at once for M. Albert, who came. I think that the Governor withdrew from the feast and did all this, in order to write his reply to Salabat

[1] *13th Âvani, Srîmukha.*

Jang and send it with the presents that have come, otherwise affairs may not prosper. Some bad news or other arrives daily; messengers have been sent (with orders to make the journey in ten days) to stop M. Bussy and others, and make them halt at Golconda; and it has also been resolved to write and send presents to Masulipatam. What has now happened confirms all this. Moreover the Governor was depressed to-day, and his face was downcast; so was Madame's. Having seen all this, I went to my office.

Tuesday, August 28.[1]—I paid my respects and reported the news when the Governor came down for his tea. He asked if cloth was being sorted. I replied, yes. He asked, how many bales there were. I told him 60 or 61 bales had come in, but, as a good deal would have to be turned out, they could only be reckoned as 55.

He then asked the Madras news, and I said there was nothing particular. Dôst Muhammad then said that yesterday, when he was passing the Bound-hedge on certain business, he had met a dubâsh going to Fort St. David whom he had known, when they were both serving M. Bruno. He had therefore approached him, and, asking the Madras news, had

[1] *16th Âvani, Srîmukha.*

learnt that the King of England was dead. The dubâsh then went on to Fort St. David. The Governor said to me, 'The King of England was very old and has reigned for a long time. His son is only a boy so the Government will fall into confusion, for the people murdered their former king, and this king was set on the throne 56 or 57 years ago. Since then there has been no revolution and the affairs of Government have been conducted regularly. But as the King is dead, and his successor is a mere boy, there will be changes. Either good or evil may come out of this. We shall see what happens.'[1] I replied, 'The country prospered under the late king, but now for some time there will be troubles, and then perhaps prosperity will return, for in this world neither good nor evil fortune is lasting, but each succeeds the other. So now there will be alterations.'—'True,' the Governor replied, and added that the Pretender was watching his opportunity to return, but that Heaven alone knew what would happen. I replied, 'If he had been fortunate, would he not have succeeded when Louis XIV helped him? Then Louis XV, the present King, fought hard for him, the Scotch received and crowned him, and the English lost half the

[1] Dupleix scarcely seems well-informed on his subject.

country ; but afterwards he had to fly, and could not secure success. His son's fortune remains to be seen.' The Governor smiled and said that either side might win. I replied, 'His father was king but was murdered, and the late king was established by the people; ever since then he has been making attempts but was not destined to enjoy the Government. Nevertheless his son may get it.' The Governor remarked that I was well acquainted with the history of Europe, and asked what Guruva Pillai[1] had written in his journal about the English and French kings. I replied, 'The French King rules the country himself, and has no equal. His own kingdom is populous; and the kingdoms and government of Spain are also under him; so that he is more powerful than any other king. But the King of England can do nothing without the consent of the Parliament ; so the country and army are not under him ; and like a cooly he obeys the commands of the Parliament or does nothing. He can spend nothing without the leave of Parliament ; so no one regards his rule. One day at London, the capital of England, he visited the opera.

[1] Former dubâsh, apparently a cousin of Ânanda Ranga Pillai. See General introduction, Vol. I, p vii, *supra*. The habit of keeping a diary seems to have run in the family. Ranga Pillai's nephew also kept one.

Before his very face, a woman went on selling fruit, among the audience who showed no fear of the King's presence, but jested familiarly with her, and bought and ate her fruit ; and all this because the king has no power. Whereas men so trembled before the King of France that they could not speak in his presence, and even kings acknowledged Louis XIV to be the greatest among them. The palaces of the King of England cannot be compared in size or beauty with the stables of the King of France. But for the administration of the Regent and the ruin of the country by M. Law the Controller-General, with his bank-bills, the administration of France is admirable, exceeding that of all other kingdoms.' For an hour I described in detail the customs of the country, the strange sights, manners, curiosities, gardens, groves and buildings. He said that it was all quite true and added that, as the journal was in French, he should like to see it. I said that it should be as he desired. The Governor then [spoke] of the presents for Salabat Jang, which consist of a small box fully engraved with trees in flower and bearing fruit, besides small knives [ ].

SEPTEMBER 1753.

Monday, September 3.[1]—I heard the following news at eight o'clock to-night :—When Periyanna Nayinâr reported at nine o'clock that 70 or 80 Englishmen had landed from two boats near the Vellâla's Choultry, the Governor sent 500 Europeans and Topasses and 200 sepoys, under a captain, with the Nayinâr, to seize the Englishmen. Also letters were despatched at ten o'clock to the ships' captains, directing them to seize the boat-people, if they tried to put out to sea, and to anchor their ships opposite to the Vellâla's Choultry. The ship-people accordingly seized them ; and when the troops sent by land had made enquiry, they received the following account :—M. Destouches, the severe Frenchman who used to be here, has been carrying on a small trade with the money he made after the capture of Madras. He was returning from Pulicat with certain goods, and landed at the Vellâla's Choultry at seven o'clock to-night and asked for water at the fishing village near by. This was refused. He abused them, and in alarm the people ran away, saying that 70 or 80 men had landed to plunder. One found the

[1] *22nd Âvani, Srîmukha.*

Nayinâr's man and told him. When the Nayinâr found all this to be false, he desired M. Destouches, the European, to accompany his people and the boatmen to the Pondichery road, and himself went in advance to the Governor and told him that no Englishman had landed but that it was M. Destouches who had landed in a boat and alarmed the people. Those who set out this morning have all come back again. I hear that the Governor's haste in sending out the troops caused much alarm in the Fort until they had returned.

Tuesday, September 4.[1]—At half-past eight this morning, I went to the Governor and reported the news. When Dôst Muhammad was present, he said that Morâri Râo had set out, resolved to surround Trichinopoly, seize Muhammad 'Alî Khân, and capture the fort, which he would do, as surely as he had already taken Tiruviti. Dôst Muhammad replied that that affair had been managed by the Marathas alone, and that Morâri Râo always accomplished what he had set his heart upon. I asked if I might speak without incurring anger. He desired me to do so; so I said, 'It was by your good fortune that Morâri Râo and Hasan-ud-dîn Khân won their

[1] *23rd Âvani, Srîmukha.*

victories, that Nâsîr Jang, Pâdshâh of the Deccan, was beheaded, that Madras was taken, that Mr. Boscawen was defeated and driven away from Pondichery, that your army reached Aurangabad and even Poona, overthrowing Bhâji Râo whom Nizâm-ul-mulk, Nâsîr Jang, or the Pâdshâh himself, could scarcely defeat. Who else could have done so much? From the beginning of October, you will win many victories; and in the beginning of November, Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English will fly in indescribable confusion, as you will see. Think not that my words will prove false. This same Morâri Râo accompanied Nâsîr Jang, but was defeated and fled.' He listened to me, and asked if it would really take two more months. 'It will, Sir,' I replied; 'but, after that, you will receive glad news of victory from all quarters, of the capture of Trichinopoly with its garrison, and the occupation of the countries in the north. Wealth and power will be yours, and you will be glad. All men will praise you, and your enemies will be troubled and destroyed. I know not if you remember what I have formerly predicted, but good and evil have occurred even as I have foretold these last ten years; and when our evil days cease, and our good days begin, you will know the truth of my saying.' The Governor observed, 'Of

course your words always come true.' Dôst Muhammad said, 'It is all true. Senhor Ranga Pillai said eighteen months ago that these evils would come to pass, and that his affairs also would suffer. To this day, he has weighed the future truly in the balance of his wisdom; and now who will discredit what he foretells?'

When we had thus been talking about an hour, Madame's Topass servant-maid came to tell the Governor he had not put his cap on. He smiled at me and said that he had been too busy to think of it. I replied, 'That is the way with kings. Although Aurangzîb conquered the other kings and brought the whole country under one umbrella, he used to wear a coarse outer gown and turban. So too your waist-coat is of coarse cloth, and your breeches of gingham; of your cap, I need not speak.'—'Then,' he answered, 'I am like Aurangzîb Pâdshâh,' and showing me his waist-coat, breeches and cap, which were made of coarse cloth, asked whether they were fine. I said that they were very coarse. He continued, 'Because I too am a Pâdshâh, I dress like Aurangzîb. Is my waist-coat close-fitting or easy?'—'Do the great trouble about such things?' I asked. Dôst Muhammad observed that Aurangzîb earned his living by tailor's work, as he thought it a sin to touch money

taken from the country. The Governor made no answer.

He then said, 'Three corge of 23-kunjam Yânâm cloth are wanted at once for caps, etc. Send for them.' I nodded at Tyâgu and said I would get them. The Governor then went upstairs. I went to the sorting—godown, and told the writer, Ganapati Pillai, of the washing place, to deliver to Tyâgu three picked corge of 23-kunjam Yânâm cloth, bleached without having been boiled. He agreed, and went away to the washing-place.

Friday, September 7.[1]—The Europe news alleged to have been brought by the *Rouillé* on Friday, August 10, as told me by councillors and padrés up to to-day is as follows :— The killing of Chandâ Sâhib in June, 1752, the release of Law and other European officers who had been taken prisoners of war, on giving their parole, according to the European custom, not to take up arms and to appear whenever summoned, the capture of M.d'Auteuil at Ûtatûr, his similar release, the imprisonment of about 1,000 soldiers, the taking of Arcot, Vriddhachalam and other important places, the fact of the Pondichery garrison being reduced to 14 soldiers, so that Major Lawrence would have seized it but for

[1] *26th Âvani, Srîmukha.*

Mr. Saunders, the Governor of Madras, Madame's mismanagement at Pondichery to the Company's ruin,—all these details were written in a letter which the English sent to Europe in July.

M. Aumont's daughter, who had first married M. Friell, after her husband's death, desired to marry M. Aubert, but the Governor's wife hindered her. Thereupon she fled secretly to Madras and married him there.[1] When the ship mentioned above sailed for Europe, Aubert, who was at Madras, wrote to his uncle M. [ ], the Company's director, about what had befallen M. d'Auteuil, M. Law and others at Trichinopoly, Chandâ Sâhib's death, the presence of only 14 soldiers at Pondichery, Mr. Lawrence's wish to seize it when it was weak, and Mr. Saunders' hindering him from doing so, just as the English had said. He added that the Governor was completely ruled by his wife, and thus had ruined the Company; and that Salabat Jang was less successful than Bhâji Râo. One or two more letters were also sent which must have reached England early last January, and have been sent on from London to Paris, to be delivered

1 Marie Rose Françoise Aumont, daughter of Jean-Baptiste Aumont and Marie Madeleine Albert (sister of Madame Dupleix) married Jacques Friell in 1745 at the age of 16. He died in 1751. In 1752 she ran away to Madras with Louis Aubert de la Mogère.

to the Company's director (whose name I do not know) M. Aubert's uncle.

On learning this, the English drew up an account which they printed and published everywhere, so that all spoke of it and it was printed in the Gazette. When the Company read this, they thought that the Company's affairs in India had been ruined. The French ministers too and all people read the Gazette in every street, so that the news spread far and wide, the King of England and the Parliament learnt of it, and the English Company rejoiced. Although the French ministers knew the joy of the ministers in England, nevertheless they concealed their grief and declared that they could only believe it after it had been confirmed from Pondichery, because five or six times before it had been falsely reported that the English had captured Pondichery. When the Company went to the ministers and complained that M. Dupleix had interfered in Moghul affairs, was wasting great sums of money every year in spite of repeated letters, pretending that he had the King's orders, and so disobeying the Company, with this news as the result, and heaven knew what more besides, the ministers could only repeat what is written above and promise that when M. d' Auteuil and the others should arrive in May

or June by the *Centaure* with certain news,[1] then two frigates should be despatched with decisive orders.

I have already mentioned M. Aubert's letter from Madras to his uncle M. [ ], the director. The latter went to the Hotel of the Company, and though he feared to be blamed if he revealed the contents of his nephew's letter, he drew out the three or four lakhs which he had in the Company's funds, on which various others did the same, there was a panic, and men said publicly that the Pondichery Company had been ruined. Every one wanted to sell their shares, even at 50 *per cent.* loss, in spite of the minister's declaring that the news of the Company's ruin must be false, as it came only from English and Dutch sources. However the news contained in the Director's letter was being kept secret, and two frigates were ready to bring out orders as soon as news arrived from here by the *Centaure* in May or thereabouts.

When M. Boscawen, the English Admiral, was beaten in 1748, the King and the whole nation thought there was none to equal M. Dupleix ; and it was resolved to fetch him home and make him one of the four

[1] d'Auteuil and Amat (the latter a Company's servant) had been sent home in October 1752, to support Dupleix' views and minimise the effects of Law's defeat and Chandâ Sâhib's death.

ministers of State. When the King's letters-patent arrived here, all exalted his name. It was the same when first Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and then Nâsîr Jang were killed; but the English and Dutch wrote letters making light of these events; so that now he is as much contemned as formerly he was praised; and men accuse him of obeying his wife, breaking the Company, ruining himself and dishonouring the nation. I even hear they say in Europe that on his return he will be little thought of and put to shame. I have written but a tithe of what is being said. Moreover, by sending lakhs to the ministers, he was able to stave off the Company's complaints until December last. But as the Company is thought about to burst, he cannot now blame the ministers. This is what the gentry are saying. I have written it in brief.

Sunday, September 9.[1]—Pâpayya Pillai came to report what he had heard about Hasan-ud-dîn Khân's attacking the walls of Tiruvannâmalai yesterday and being obliged to retreat to his entrenchments, as no one supported him. The Governor and his wife then withdrew, and I went to my office.

A Dutch sloop arrived from Bunder, with M. Goupil, M. Mainville, M. Marion,

[1] *28th Âvani, Srîmukha.*

M. Milcon [?][1] and others with their money and property. After interviewing the Governor, they went to their lodgings. They were on the way from Aurangabad and Hyderabad, when M. Bussy set out from Masulipatam for Hyderabad, in order to march with his army to Aurangabad according to Salabat Jang's request. Then M. Goupil, etc., reached Bunder and arrived by a sloop to-day. She set sail after landing them and their goods, and firing a salute of 15 guns.

I hear that as Mudâmiah, who was imprisoned at the Fort, has not paid what is due, he was removed to Pâpayya Pillai's house and then sent aboard a Europe ship at ten o'clock to-night.[2] I also hear that Qutb-ud-dîn Khân, who till to-day was imprisoned in the clock-tower for not paying, has been removed to the underground dungeon.

After letters from Trichinopoly brought by Pâpayya Pillai's camel-man had been read, the camel-man was imprisoned; but the reason is unknown.

Monday, September 10.[3]—I did not go out to-day as it was the second day after the death of Vîrarâghava Pillai.

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1 I suspect this should read 'M. Marion de Mersan.'

2 I suppose in order to terrify him with the fear of being sent to the Isles or elsewhere.

3 *29th Âvani, Srîmukha.*

The following are the contents of a letter from Muzaffar Khân,[1] who is with Bhâji Râo at Ahmadnagar, to his younger brother Hasan-ud-dîn Khân:—'On the 10th July, Bâlâji Râo received a parwâna from the Pâdshâh, declaring that the Subah should not be given to Salabat Jang but to the Nânâ, and ordering Salabat Jang to be seized and sent to Delhi; or if that could not be done, to put him to death. On receipt of this, the Nânâ ordered his tents to be pitched without the city, and summoned his troops in the several garrisons to return, he himself entering his tent on the 10th July. Thence he marched to Ahmadnagar on the 1st August. Gaudiya, a jemadar who was in Guzerat, has joined him here with 30,000 horse. The Nânâ has 80,000 horse. He will attack and beat Salabat Jang this month. The Pâdshâh has appointed Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân's son, vizier with the title of Amîr-ul-umara, and bestowed on him the box of office. The Pâdshâh is so angry at Salabat Jang's bestowing the Carnatic country on the Europeans without regard to the Pâdshâh's name and country, that he regards him as the greatest of traitors, deserving no less than to be hanged. Salabat Jang's Subahs of the Deccan have been confirmed in the Nânâ's name, and I

[1] *alias* Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân.

have been ordered to enlist 10,000 musketeers and 4,000 cavalry, with whom to march into the Carnatic. Thus Salabat Jang will be overthrown this month, and I shall proceed to the Carnatic, when all things will be made known.' This letter was received by Hasan-ud-dîn Khân at Tiruvannâmalai and sent to his house here ; so I have written its contents in Tamil, besides rendering the Persian into Telugu.

Tuesday, September 11.[1]—People say in the town that Nandi Râjâ's and Morâri Râo's troops, with the French army, have closely surrounded Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English troops in the fort of Trichinopoly, where provisions are growing scarce. The Tanjore army has retired to Tanjore, and they are secretly helping our people.

When I went to the Fort this morning, I saw the Second. M. Miran came and said that the blue cloth could not be baled. The Second said that it could be done to-morrow morning and departed.

All the officers and councillors assembled at nine o'clock this morning in the Governor's great hall upstairs, which had been decorated, to witness the presentation to M. Goupil of the Cross of St. Louis that has come from the

[1] *30th Âvani, Srîmukha.*

A second date, Thursday, September 13 (or 1st Purattâsi) has been entered in the margin.

King. M. Goupil appeared and knelt before the Governor. Then a major read the King's patent, and the Governor touched both M. Goupil's shoulders, his breast and head, with a sword. After making M. Goupil declare that, however severely wounded, he would fight to the death, the Governor presented him with the Cross of St. Louis, which he hung upon his breast, afterwards embracing, kissing, and congratulating him. The others did the same. I also congratulated him, and he thanked me kindly. Then the Governor mounted the howdah on his elephant, east of the Fort, and, followed by other elephants with the Fish, kettledrums, etc., and accompanied by M. le Marquis de Conflans, the captains, the ships' captains, etc., displayed the marks of honour which the Pâdshâh had bestowed on no one else but the Nizâm. These were then restored to their proper places.

OCTOBER 1753.

Thursday, October 4.[1]—When the Governor came down at eight o'clock this morning, I paid my respects and reported the news. He then went upstairs to read the Europe letters. Father Saint-Amour, who has come from Europe, complimented me, and said, 'When I visited M. Montaran, I saw and spoke with M. Duvelaer, the Company's director, who mentioned your services when Madras was taken during the English troubles, in defence of Pondichery when it was besieged by Mr. Boscawen, the Unlucky Admiral, from the death of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân to that of Nâsîr Jang, when the Company secured as jaghirs the Villiyanallûr, Bâhûr, Valudâvûr, etc., countries and Masulipatam. M. Montaran was delighted to hear this, and gave me a letter for you, and M. Duvelaer did the same. I have both with me. Other matters are taking place, which I will tell you of when I visit you with the letters at your house. Of course I had much to tell them about you.' He then visited the Governor and I went to the office.

At half-past eight I heard that the Governor was listening upstairs to the

[1] *22nd Purattâsi, Srîmukha.*

European musicians, who are said to be very good.

Monday, October 8.[1]—The English at Tiruvannâmalai, Muhammad 'Alî Khân's people and those at Vêttavalam made a night attack on our army, the Vellore army and the other Muhammadans under Hasan-ud-dîn Khân and the Europeans under M. Duvacher [?], killing of Murtazâ 'Alî Khân's people Siddhî Saiyid Khân, Sardâr Khân, Saiyid Khân Sâlôji's son, and others. Thereupon Hasan-ud-dîn Khân and his Muhammadan troops and M. Duvacher and his Europeans quitted Tiruvannâmalai for Gingee, and ten days ago Hasan-ud-dîn Khân returned to Pondichery with twenty or thirty of his people. I hear to-day that the enemy have tied *tôranams* in the Tiruvottiyûr, Utramallûr and Sâlavâkkam countries, and as far as Vellimêttupêttai near Tindivanam ; and some of our people in those parts have escaped hither with their bare lives, abandoning their arms, etc., and the rest have been killed or scattered. Tindivanam alone remains unoccupied in all the country up to Merkânam to the north-ward. So this is a time of success for our enemies, and of defeat for our Governor. Who knows what else God purposes ? The root of all this evil is the Governor's wife. The

[1] *26th Purattâsi Srîmukha.*

honour or disgrace of a realm depends upon a single person, as they say; and Madame Dupleix has brought disgrace upon this kingdom.

Tuesday, October 9.[1]—When 48 bales had been packed, I, the Second, M. Miran and others went upstairs to see certain goods from Europe unpacked from their boxes and laid out on a table in the central hall. The fineness of their workmanship, polish and finish cannot be imitated in these parts; nor do people here know how to make them. The rich must live in Europe to enjoy life; for here they know not how to do so, and each envies the other.

I heard to-night that the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's army with the help of Matalavâr had slain Muhammad Kamâl, the amaldâr of Tirupati, plundering his elephants, horses and goods and seizing Tirupati. The Governor had written to Madanânda Pandit's people, Piruku Râjâ and Gôpâla Pandit, to get 8,000 rupees from Muhammad Kamâl, but he was killed first. One of these two men has brought the news of Muhammad Kamâl's death to Madanânda Pandit. If it be true, the French must be losing their power for, although Muhammad Kamâl was not in the Governor's pay and had received no help

[1] *27th Purattâsi, Srîmukha.*

from him, he has been managing the country in the name of the French with 500 horse, 2,000 foot and Carnatic peons, 4 elephants, camels, bullocks, etc., ever since he left Nellore, and with the aid of Matalavâr, displaying his power in these parts like a tiger, filling his enemies with fear, capturing Tirupati, and maintaining the French affairs there, and in Cuddapah and Kandanûr up to the Kistna, and even in Masulipatam in the north-east, although here French power was waning. So if the news of his death is true, our authority there also will come to an end. I write what men are saying. It is believed that the news is true, and that these things will indeed come to pass. The times are such that whole armies vanish. I fear Muhammad Kamâl has shared this fate.

Wednesday, October 10.[1]—When I had reported the news to the Governor this morning, he said that the ships would have to sail shortly, and the merchants must be warned to get the cloth baled and ready. I agreed. He then went upstairs as the officers were consulting together.

The 230 soldiers and officers who arrived by the *St. Louis* were despatched to Trichinopoly to-day with 4 guns. I hear that 'Alî Khân

[1] *28th Puraṭṭási, Srîmukha.*

and his 200 men who are guarding the 500 cooly-loads of powder, shot, muskets, etc., at Tirunâmanallûr,[1] which could not be sent on owing to fear of the enemy, will accompany them.

At noon the ship with M. de La Gatinais dropped anchor. After landing, he visited the Governor with M. de Kerjean.

Thursday, October 11.[2]—Hasan-ud-dîn Khân's men last night brought the Governor news of the murder of Muhammad Kamâl at Tirupati; so the Muhammadans went to condole with Muhammad Kamâl's wife and children.

I hear that Pilaiporuttâ Pillai and his son, who was wounded, have been seized at Vriddhachalam and that that country has been occupied.

Ever since the first of this month,[3] we have been getting news of the loss of armies, the damage of the ships, the strength and success of our enemies, the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân, and our own defeat; we shall see what happens in the coming month. The Governor is much perplexed, but with great courage puts a good face on matters. Nevertheless they do not mend.

[1] In the Tirukkôyilûr taluk.
[2] *29th Purattâsi, Srîmukha.*
[3] The *1st Purattâsi, i.e.*, September 13.

M. Véry, M. Desjardins' son-in-law, being sick, arrived to-day from the camp at Trichinopoly at his house here, and sent word of it to the Governor. But the Governor is said to have angrily forbidden him to appear in his presence. I hear that this is owing to the losses sustained owing to his carelessness.

Friday, October 12.[1]—I hear that 200 foot-soldiers were sent to Âlambarai on receipt of news that the English had attacked the Fort there.

Saturday, October 13.[2]—I hear that the Governor received letters to-night from Salabat Jang and M. Bussy at Aurangabad and Hyderabad.

Sunday, October 14.[3]—I hear that M. Mainville and other officers set out for Trichinopoly to-night. Dôst Muhammad's younger brother was given 300 muskets and despatched to Trichinopoly with the newly entertained sepoys.

Tuesday, October 16.[4]—I heard to-day that the *chauth* of the Carnatic had been granted to Morâri Râo, who has entertained 1,000 troopers, and tied *tôranams* in the countries occupied by Muhammad 'Alî Khân, appointing amaldârs

[1] *30th Purattâsi, Srîmukha.*
[2] *1st Arppisi, Srîmukha.*
[3] *2nd Arppisi, Srîmukha.*
[4] *4th Arppisi, Srîmukha.*

to the same, and naming men to receive the *chauth*. He has agreed to keep one quarter of the collections for himself and hand over the remainder to the Governor's people. A sanad has been written to this effect; and three dresses of honour have been made ready to be given this afternoon to Morâri Râo.

I also hear that the Governor is to pay a lakh out of the 1,20,000 rupees promised to Morâri Râo, and that Pâpayya Pillai the amaldâr, must pay the balance of 20,000 rupees, besides the 50,000 rupees in arrears. Last night the Governor told him with great anger to pay these sums. Anybody but Pâpayya Pillai would have run away or taken poison, if he had had the misfortune to suffer such daily indignities, as to be beaten, kicked and spat upon. But Pâpayya Pillai does not mind such things. None but he would dare to look men in the face again, so every one says.

I hear that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's people have seized Tyâgar fort and prevented our people from raising their heads in those parts.

Wednesday, October 17.[1]—I hear that Morâri Râo has not been given the sanad for the *chauth* mentioned above, nor his people the dresses of honour; but the Governor has given them 20,000 pagodas.

[1] *5th Arppisi, Srîmukha.*

At three o'clock this afternoon, the Governor sent for me and said, '400 bales must be sent by the *Trieze Cantons* to Mahé, where she will take in pepper and then sail for Mascareigne. She will take in the *Anson*'s and other ships' bales, and then sail for Europe. 342 bales have been laded on the *Trieze Cantons* and 58 bales more are wanted. Get these somehow by Saturday, so that they may be put on board her.' I said I would attend to it.—'Can I say that 400 bales will be sent?' he asked. 'Certainly,' I answered.

He then asked how Mr. Morse was getting on at Madras. 'What is the matter with him?' I asked; 'he looks red and healthy.' M. Kerjean then asked if he had been ailing. I replied, 'Not only did he deliver up the sea-port which he ruled, but also fell into the enemy's hands, and was disgraced, so that men mock him, saying that he gave up his city without a blow, surrendered himself helplessly, brought to beggary the dwellers in a town wherein was abundance of silver, gold and all kinds of jewels, so that the whole was brought to desolation. He had better have died than dwell dishonoured in the city he ruined. This is not my opinion only but that of all the world.' The Governor turned to M. Kerjean and said, 'I would rather have begged my living in a strange city than return like that. Ranga Pillai

speaks thus because he is a gentleman, whose father and grandfather held high appointments and were rich. No one else would speak so.' He thus praised me in his affection for half an hour, relating the talents of my elders, the Chevalier Guruvappan's visit to Europe on account of M. Hébert's injustice, the Duke of Orleans and his mother acting as his god-father and god-mother, and the respect shown him in kings' palaces in Europe. He added, 'As to-day is the anniversary of the English besieging the city and of Mr. Boscawen, the Unlucky Admiral's defeat and flight, we must go to church and pray. The new musicians from Europe will perform and sing. You had better come and hear the music.' So saying, he went with his family to the church. I thanked him as well as I could, and followed him to the church. There all the Europeans, men and women, were assembled. 21 guns were fired when the service began. The three Europe ships flying the Portuguese flag, and that on which M. de La Gatinais came, fired 21 guns each. When the service was over, there was music accompanied by the *vina* and other instruments. Then the Governor, etc., returned to the *Gouvernement*, where all paid their respects, on the anniversary of his success over the enemy in repulsing them when they

sought to capture the city. Then all took leave and I went to my office.

Friday, October 19.[1]—The Europeans who have gone on board the two ships are as follows:—

M. Le Riche, who was Governor of Kârikâl and ruined that town, cheating the Company and making five or six lakhs of rupees;

M. Alvarez [?], the goldsmith, who came here from Europe to trade;

M. Marion, an officer who accompanied M. Bussy, etc., to Golconda, Hyderabad and Aurangabad, stayed with Salabat Jang, making lakhs of money, and who desires to return to Europe as he cannot make any more here and has plenty on which to live in comfort with his children and relations, buying himself lands and gardens, and obtaining an appointment by means of presents;

M. Villéon;

M. Delarche's son, another boy whose name I do not know, and one or two officers;

the wife of M. Chretiens who came out from Europe to join her husband, but he was killed by the English at Kirumâmpâkkam under M. de Kerjean[2]; so she is returning with her son.

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[1] *7th Arppisi, Srîmukha.*

[2] At the action of Bâhûr.

The *Trieze Cantons* will sail for Europe to-morrow or next day with 400 and odd bales, and will take in pepper from Mahé.

Monday, October 22.[1]—An elephant standing $5\frac{1}{4}$ cubits, two horses, and a dress of honour were sent to Srîrangam to-day as presents to Morâri Râo.

The Governor sent for Hasan-ud-dîn Khân and told him to entertain horse and foot. But Hasan-ud-dîn Khân replied, 'I hear that Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore, who till now was on our side against Muhammad 'Alî Khân and English, has gone over to them, paid them peshkash, and is about to dismiss his horse, foot, and Carnatic peons. If you will give them a cowle promising them so much, it can be sent and they will come.' So the Governor wrote a cowle, agreeing to take into pay any number at 30 rupees to each trooper and 11 rupees to each foot-soldier, but he said that he had no ready money for their pay but offered three lakhs of rupees in jewels in return for a loan. Hasan-ud-dîn Khân said, 'If I had that sum, should I be selling my goods and horses for my maintenance? so I cannot find the money.' The Governor told him to ask the merchants. Hasan-ud-dîn Khân rejoined, 'When yesterday I asked all the merchants for

[1] *10th Arppisi, Srimukha.*

three or four thousand rupees against the pledge of jewels, on account of Muhammad Kamâl's death, I could not get it. So I had to sell the jewels at the mint in order to get money. That is the state of the town.'—'But,' the Governor said, 'there are Guntûr Bâli Chetti and the Guzerâtis' gumastahs. Send for them and ask them.' The Governor's wife repeated this. Thereupon Hasan-ud-dîn Khân returned home dejectedly, and sent for Timmanna Nâyakkan (Gôvardhana Dâs's gumastah), Âchâram Tarwâdi (Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji's gumastah), Nâganna Nâyakkan (Vallabhu Sundar's gumastah), and Guntûr Bâli Chetti. He said, 'I wish to pledge jewels for two or three lakhs of rupees.' They answered, 'It is our business to write and send *hundis* in return for ready money. We do not deal in money. Is not this known to all? We cannot then give you the money.' So saying they went away. I hear that Hasan-ud-dîn Khân sent word to the Governor about this by Dôst Muhammad, and will speak about it to-morrow.

Wednesday, October 24.[1]—I heard to-night that the Governor's great elephant, named Venkatâchalam, worth 20,000 rupees and 7 cubits high, and on which Husain Sâhib used

[1] *12th Arppisi, Srîmukha.*

to fight, entered the city of Yama[1] at nine o'clock to-night.

Thursday, October 25.[2]—I hear the Governor is so angry with M. Maissin, who returned yesterday from the camp at Trichinopoly, that he has ordered him not to appear in his presence, for losing the army by his ignorance of war[3].

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[1] The God of Death.

[2] *13th Arppisi, Srîmukha*, the Dîpâvali and Kêdârîswara festivals.

[3] A letter of October 16, 1753, said to have been written by Dupleix to Machault (*Mémoire pour la Compagnie contre le sieur Dupleix, Piéces*, No. 8) exonerates Maissin from all responsibility for the severe defeat of September 21, explaining that he was sick with dysentery, and that the command had thus devolved upon Astruc.

NOVEMBER 1753.

Tuesday, November 6.[1]—I went to the Governor's at eight o'clock this morning and paid my respects. He asked if a fine pandal had been erected. I said, yes, and added, 'Such a lofty pandal has never before been built. A great pole has been used to join the two pillars, from which to hang the new lantern of coloured glass that is eight feet high.'—'Yes,' the Governor said, 'I did that so that it may be used when needed.'[2]

So saying he went into M. Bertrand's room, and then upstairs. I went to the sorting-godown, thence to my office, and at last went and sat down in the pandal that has been built near the Manakkulam Pillaiyâr temple. M. Estabar [?], the ship's captain, who was going southward in his palankin, got out on seeing me, and came up, saying, 'You have received two or three letters from M. Duvelaer, the Company's director. He is very powerful and his word prevails over all others' so that none can say him nay. He is very fond of you, so

[1] *25th Arppisi, Srîmukha.*

[2] If I remember right,—I have mislaid my reference,—this was erected for the celebration, with due pomp, of the marriage of de Kerjean with Jeanne Carvalho, which took place on November 17, 1753. This must have been a second marriage on the part of de Kerjean, for the *French Correspondence*, 1752, p. 112, shows him married, and very uncomfortably married, to (apparently) a niece of Madame Paradis. But M. Martineau's invaluable edition of the *Actes de l'Etat Civil de Pondichéry* fails to throw any light on this earlier marriage.

next year you will be very prosperous. He told me that when M. Dupleix was promoted from Bengal to be Governor of Pondichery, he entrusted you with his private trade, and you managed everything until Nâsîr Jang's death, so that his affairs prospered and he and the nation shone like the sun. Moreover you secured for the Company, which till then had confined itself to its trade, countries yielding 15 lakhs of rupees, Bunder, and other places. Nevertheless M. Dupleix thought fit to dismiss you,[1] fitted as you were to bear the burden of the State, and entrusted the management to Madame who fetched a fellow from Madras begotten of generations of beggars, and who himself had lived by begging and stealing, for which he had been imprisoned, chained and beaten at Madras. To him, she entrusted the management of the country, whereby all our glory had been tarnished, and our wealth and territory lost. Why was this done? or what right had he to do anything of himself?'

Thus he related to me all that M. Duvelaer had said. It would take me 20 or 30 sheets to write it all, and no one would believe it. He said, 'The city is going to ruin. There is no order in it, or in the country that they manage.

[1] Ranga Pillai was not dismissed, it seems, from the Chief Dubâsh-ship, but was not entrusted with political duties.

Who ever heard of any one's entrusting the management of affairs to his wife, as is done in Pondichery? Next year will come orders from Comptroller-General, the King's minister, confiding the management to you. Then you may believe what I am telling you.

'His worst enemy is M. d'Auteuil, whom he sent home.[1] He has written that the Governor can neither rule nor manage; and has even said that the Company will lose the place if he remains here as Governor. The Governor's nephew saw the letter, but I do not know if a copy has been sent out.

'The European ladies and gentlemen, including the Council, are all complaining of his wife in their letters to Europe. The ships' captains and the very sailors who arrive in Europe say that Madame Dupleix has ruined the Company, and their complaints resound through all France, the Netherlands and England, so that I wondered at their knowing what had happened here, when I knew nothing of it.' He talked about this for two hours and then departed.

I suppose the Comptroller-General of Finance, the Company, the people of Paris

[1] See above, p. 413 n. If this is true, d'Auteuil was as unreliable a political as a military agent. It may be noted that his connection with Dupleix had been weakened by the death of Madame d'Auteuil in 1751.

and those at L'Orient have learnt of our acquiring territory and defeating our enemies after I was entrusted with the management, and of our failures ever since I was kept out of business and the management was given to Madame. So they are talking about it. This is better than the conquest of kingdoms, for what greater joy can I have than to know that my conduct has been approved by my master, the Company, and its master the Minister? When I was appointed, there came the English troubles, in which Madras was taken and the English were beaten. Then Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, the Nawâb of Arcot, was beaten; and after him, Nâsîr Jang, the Pâdshâh of the Deccan, was defeated and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân was placed on the throne, and then Salabat Jang. When the countries had been conquered, I thought I had satisfied the Governor; but then M. Delarche stepped in to share the meal; then Madame replaced him, and scavengers and chucklers became men of worship, so that the kingdom was ruined and the Company dishonoured. I have been wondering who would bear the news to Europe, 6,000 leagues away. What greater joy is there than the unlooked-for pleasure of knowing that men so distant have heard of what has happened here? The Padré said I was spoken of by M. Duvelaer to the

Comptroller-General, M. Machault, M. Montaran who is next to him, and even before the King himself, a dozen times. I do not write all this in detail lest I should seem to be writing my own praise.

Saturday, November 10.[1]—I hear that news has reached the sowcars' shops, that Bhâji Râo and Târâ Bai have quarrelled, Târâ Bai has sent Salabat Jang a *hundi* for five lakhs of rupees, with a message that Bhâji Râo wishes to overthrow her and conquer his Moghul country, proposing to unite in order to defeat Bhâji Râo, for which purpose the five lakhs were sent for the preparation of artillery and troops, and promising to help him with 20,000 or 25,000 horse, to destroy Bhâji Râo. As Târâ Bai wrote thus, Sânôji Nimbâlakar who is an enemy of Bhâji Râo, told Salabat Jang that if he obeyed Târâ Bai's wishes, he would join him with all the troops he could collect, in order to attack and slay Bhâji Râo. Salabat Jang has accepted the five lakhs of rupees, and is preparing artillery and troops to attack Bhâji Râo.

The following message was sent to Târâ Bai by Bhâji Râo:—

'You are helping the enemy and will ruin your house. I have never betrayed you, but

[1] *29th Arppisi, Srîmukha.*

acted as your chief minister, taking the Moghuls' country and reducing your enemies' power, for your sake. I have never attacked your country. If you suspect me of injuring you when I am striving for your glory, and if you imprudently assist your enemies, you will ruin your house. My lot is decreed according to the writing on my head. What can Salabat Jang or the Pâdshâh or you or others do? Because you are a woman, you act without circumspection; therefore I write to you. You will do as you please, but think well before you act.' This letter was written and sent to Târâ Bai by respectable persons, and this news has been sent to the sowcars. I have written accordingly.

Wednesday, November 21.[1]—I hear that, when Senhor da Cruz [?], the Portuguese officer,[2] marched from here to Utramallûr with twelve soldiers, Râmalinga Ayyan and his foot-soldiers and the manager, they were attacked by the English, and in the retreat M. da Cruz, the commander, and the twelve soldiers were killed, and the rest who escaped in safety returned with Râmalinga Ayyan, having abandoned 400 guns and other munitions to the enemy. This news was concealed

[1] *10th Kârttigai, Srîmukha.*

[2] Bussy had a so-called Portuguese company with him in the Deccan; there were others, it seems, at Pondichery.

from the Governor, as Madame alone knew of their despatch. Even she was not informed for two or three days; and the Governor was still ignorant of it this evening.

Saturday, November 24.[1]—They say that a Brâhman, who accompanied the vakîl sent[2] to 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân at Arcot to inform him that 10,000 horse had been sent to help Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Trichinopoly, says that they have crossed the Kistna into Mysore and will only proceed to Trichinopoly after plundering the country.

Friday, November 30.[3]—A messenger came to-day with a letter from M. Bussy to the Governor, saying that Salabat Jang had ordered M. Bussy and the French troops at Hyderabad to march to Masulipatam, promising to send for them, if necessary, when he visited Mysore and those parts; that he had sent an order for 5 lakhs of rupees on account of the Hyderabad mortgage[4]; and that, as he had been ordered to march to Masulipatam, he was taking 200 Europeans and 500 foot, leaving behind a few soldiers and foot to escort the money, and had advanced four stages this side of Hyderabad.

[1] *13th Kârttigai, Srîmukha.*

[2] Presumably by Bhâjî Râo.

[3] *19th Kârttigai, [Srîmukha].*

[4] For arrears of pay.

DECEMBER 1753.

Saturday, December 1.[1]—At three o'clock this afternoon I heard that M. Astruc, who commanded the troops at Trichinopoly and was carried prisoner into Trichinopoly by the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops in the battle last September, had arranged with the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's sentries at the fort gate to pay them 50,000 rupees if, after making a show of resistance, they opened the gates to M. Mainville and the French army. M. Astruc then wrote to M. Mainville to approach the fort without informing Morâri Râo, or Nandi Râjâ, or any one else. So two nights ago M. Mainville marched with his soldiers, infantry, etc., without the knowledge of Nandi Râjâ or Morâri Râo; Muhammad 'Alî Khân's people at the gates fought at first and then fled having opened the gates. After entering the place, M. Mainville wrote to Nandi Râjâ and Morâri Râo, who marched to Chintâmani. Bâlâji Pandit, Pâpayya Pillai's vakîl, has written to Pâpayya Pillai by two peons. When Pâpayya Pillai reported the news to the Governor, the latter in delight gave 100 rupees and a painted turban to each of the peons. He then summoned the master-gunner, and ordered him

[1] *20th Kârttigai, Srîmukha.*

to get the cannon ready loaded with powder; and he also directed flags to be hoisted. The councillors, padrés and other gentlemen have been informed; and letters written to Salabat Jang, and M. Bussy and to Masulipatam, Mahé, and other ports.

As no letter had come about this news this evening from M. Mainville the commander, the hoisting of flags and firing of salutes have been postponed.

The Governor sent for the musicians who have come from Europe and ordered them to perform until eight o'clock to-night; he then had his supper, and afterwards dismissed the company and went to sleep.

At half-past nine to-night Pâpayya Pillai received a letter from Trichinopoly which he read to the Governor at ten o'clock. It says that the English enticed our people into the fort; and only a few escaped to Srîrangam. The Governor was drowned in the ocean of sorrow at this news. He ordered the two peons who brought the news this afternoon about our victory to be imprisoned and to refund their 100 rupees. Pâpayya Pillai was also treated with the usual courtesy of kicks and blows. I heard this at midnight.[1]

[1] This attempted escalade came most perilously near success. The *Orme MSS.* (*India*, Vol. III, f. 661) contain a spirited account of it by Lieutenant John Harrison, who was in command, as Captain Kill-patrick was incapacitated by sickness.

Sunday, December 2.[1]—This morning I went to the Fort, and when I was sitting in the sorting-godown at half-past eight, M. Delarche, M. Bourquenoud, M. Cornet, M. Miran, and other Europeans—25 or 30 persons in all—were sauntering about, talking together. They said they had heard the sound of guns from Cuddalore, 63 guns in three firings, so that yesterday's news must be untrue, but that the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân must have laid a trap for our people, when they attacked the fort, so that they fell into danger. Besides, 21 guns were heard at six o'clock ; so they thought our army must have suffered some misfortune. Though this was so, the Governor believed the false news brought by Pâpayya Pillai yesterday, and, without waiting for letters from the Europeans, announced the capture of the town and ordered its celebration. Then at nine he learnt that it was all false and fell into grief. By the announcement of such false news, he is the occasion of the loss of honour, wealth and territory. Who knows what other losses he will cause? But this and many worse misfortunes will result from setting up a man who three years ago was suffering all the miseries of poverty. Such was their conversation.

[1] *21st Kârttigai, Srîmukha.*

When the Governor and the others had returned from Church after mass at nine o'clock, and taken tea, I and the Company's merchants stood before the Governor. I paid my respects and reported the news. Then he abruptly went upstairs. For two years the Governor has never looked so happy as he did yesterday, or so sad as he does to-day. Europeans, Tamils and others all say the same.

This news has only added dishonour to the fear that has prevailed in the town for the last five or six days on account of Pâpayya Pillai. As the proverb says, 'It is like adding filth to dung.' The town is unlike itself and is wrapped in darkness. God alone can protect us from worse things.

At two o'clock this afternoon a chobdar came from Mr. Starke, the Governor of Fort St. David, with a letter, and departed with a reply and 10 rupees as a present. I hear that he mentioned the number of troops taken in the fight of the 17th of last month at Trichinopoly and said that the wounded were being attended to.

I heard to-night that Isara[1] Muhammad Khân, the killedar of Chêtpattu, whose father fled from here, had himself departed.

Monday, December 3.[2]—When I was in my office at eleven o'clock to-day, Periyanna

[1] *Quere*, Nizar. [2] *22nd Kârttigai, Srîmukha.*

Nayinâr came and said. 'The Governor sent for me and told me I was answerable for the escape of the killedar of Chêtpattu's father. I replied it was not my fault for I had given him no pass to go out; but that it had been thought that, like Chandâ Sâhib's son, he would return; and if he had not done so, the blame was not mine.' The Governor replied that he had warned me to be watchful of Pâpayya Pillai's people, and that I was therefore responsible for this man's escape. I answered that I should be responsible only if I had given him the pass. As I was coming away, he told me to send a man to find out if he was at Olukarai. I promised to do so, and came away.' I replied that he had answered properly to the Governor's question. He went away after telling me about his attack of jaundice for which he was taking *niruri*[1] and other medicine, and being strictly dieted.

As the Governor lets any one in the town exercise authority, and there is none to keep their misconduct within bounds, what wonder that such things happen? They say men may do anything except carry off women; and even that has happened a dozen times,—such is our wretched fate.

Wednesday, December 5.[2]—At nine o'clock this morning, 50 soldiers, 60 sepoys and 3

[1] See Watts, *Economic Products of India*, p. 887.

[2] *24th Kârttigai, Srîmukha.*

officers with Dôst Muhammad marched for Trichinopoly.

[*Thursday*], *December 6*.[1]—The following is the day's news:—To-day and yesterday Pâpayya Pillai has been seizing the Kômuttis, Vellâlas, Agamudiyans and others who were going about in white garments,[2] and demanding loans running from 200 to 2,000. Some were made to stoop and stones were placed on their backs; others were tied by the wrist to a tree and flogged; others had their skin pinched between sticks, and suffered other diabolical tortures; so that merchants have fled from the town, such as Salatu Venkatâchala Chetti, Muttu Tiruppili Chetti, Irusappa Chetti, etc. Men say that such iniquities have never been heard of or even read in the chronicles of Kings.

Friday, *December 7*.[3]—M. Astruc, who is in Trichinopoly, won over the Europeans and a Muhammadan at the Trichinopoly gates with promises of 50,000 rupees, and, having made all things sure, sent word to M. Mainville, who wrote to the Governor, and gave the money according to the Governor's orders. So, when M. Mainville appeared on the night of Tuesday the 27th, the Europeans and the

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[1] *25th Kârttigai, Srîmukha.*
[2] *i.e.*, belonging to the right-hand castes.
[3] *26th Kârttigai, Srîmukha.*

Muhammadan opened the gates and let him in. [The French] posted no troops at the gate but overturned the guns on the rampart into the ditch. La Volonté *Kônapparangi* and M. Lambert had been ordered to guard the gate with their people, and so the ammunition was left there with 10 men. But *Kônapparangi* and M. Lambert and their party did not appear. So Mr. Lawrence the Major who was in the Fort,[1] sent troops to close the gate. They prevented our people from entering, and seized the powder, shot, etc. Then the major marched with a small party, and threw grenades and fired field-pieces against [our men] on the ramparts. As we had no cannon, and our shot could not reach them, and our reinforcements had not come, we could not hold out; but some leaped into the ditch, and others, about 400, fell into the enemy's hands. Among these were nine officers. But M. Mainville, the commander, escaped to the camp. A letter with this news came the day before yesterday. I hear that the Governor the same night promoted his son[2] to the rank of an officer, for his father's efforts, and yesterday morning sent a reply with 50 Europeans, 3 officers, Dôst Muhammad and sixty or seventy foot. I heard the news a

[1] a mistake.

[2] *i.e.*, Mainville's son.

week ago, but have only written it to-day, as I waited to learn whether it was true. Although such efforts were made as, at other times, would have been successful, yet the fortress was not taken, because God was not with us, and many have lost their lives in vain. It will be hard to recover our former position ; and how can the Governor expect success when all his actions are unjust ; victory will attend him only when his heart is right. I am certain of this.

Saturday, December 8.[1]—When I went to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning, the Governor had gone to the church to hear mass, as it is a European feast-day. When he returned at nine o'clock, he took his tea, and then went upstairs with his wife to talk with her. Before he went to church, Pâpayya Pillai went with the following news :—Sivoji Ghorpadê, Morâri Râo's cousin, had agreed to remain here as a hostage with Mukunda Râo, the Brâhman, while, of the four lakhs of rupees due to Morâri Râo, one lakh was to be paid at once ; and for the other three lakhs, Nandi Râjâ's property was to be sent back with a request for a bill of exchange payable to Morâri Râo. In order to raise the money, the Company's merchants in town, both old

[1] *27th Kârttigai, Srîmukha.*

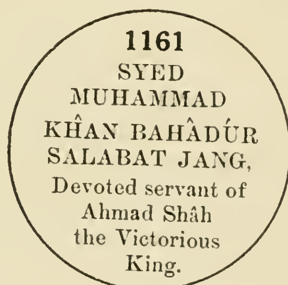
and new, the retail traders, the cloth merchants, the provision-dealers, the shroffs and all who wear white garments, were seized and tortured, tied head and feet together, kicked, beaten with the fist, made to stand on a single toe, and to carry stones on their backs, and nipped between sticks. But when seventy or eighty-thousand rupees had been thus collected, the merchants left the town, and this went on for 15 days. Meanwhile Mukunda Râo, who was at Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry having received a lakh of rupees, and discerning from the rigour that was exercised that no more could be expected, wrote what had been done to Morâri Râo and received an answer from him. Then Sivoji Ghorpadê, the surety, was secretly carried out by him at eight o'clock last night to Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry, near which 500 horse had been collected under pretence of escorting the treasure, 200 at Tiruviti and 300 at Tiruvennanallûr, etc. Having made careful arrangements, Mukunda Râo attended the feast given by Vinâyaka Pillai in honour of the Pillaiyâr on Friday. When Vinâyaka Pillai retired to rest at mid-night, and when the 200 horse from Tiruviti came within a mile of the choultry and sent word of their arrival, these persons departed and proceeded to Râmapâkkam on the Pennâr, where they were

joined by the 300 others. They drove off the cattle in Râmapâkkam and other villages of the Company and stole the *dharis* which were being made for Pâpayya Pillai and Appu Mudali at Tittagudi and Pennâdam. Such was the news reported to Pâpayya Pillai from Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry. I suppose this is why the Governor went upstairs to consult his wife. Morâri Râo has now made lakhs of money and will not take any further part, as there is no more money to be got.

APPENDIX

No. 1.

AGREEMENT made under the great seal and signature of Nawâb Salabat Jang Bahâdûr, Subahdar of the Deccan, dated 13th Rabi-us-sâni 1164 A.H. (March 12, 1751), confirmed by oaths, for the grant of the Governments of Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Ellore, Masulipatam, Mustaphanagar and Murtazanagar to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân [*i.e.*, Muhammad 'Alî Khân] with two strong killas and a suitable jaghir to be chosen by him which shall stand in his name as sanad-i-milkiat-i-istimrâr. Received through Chandâ Sâhib, M. Dupleix, Governor of Pondichery, M. Bussy, M. Law and the wife of the Governor of Pondichery, on 1st Rajab 1164 A.H. (May 27, 1751).



COWLENAMAH OR AGREEMENT in favour of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân Bahâdûr the valorous.

After you have sent your family and brothers, with your property to such a place as you shall think safe, you may with all confidence, appear before me. If God please, neither you nor your brothers, nor your courtiers, nor your family shall be called upon to account for the dues of your father or for the accounts of the Carnatic and Trichinopoly in any respect. Your hereditary rank and jaghir as desired by you and your

two forts will be restored to you and you will be appointed to the Governorship of Chicacole, etc., the 6 Circars. God and His Prophet are witnesses to this agreement made between us and my promises shall be fulfilled.

No. 2.

LETTER from M. Dupleix, Governor of Pondichery, declaring his responsibility for the agreement offered by Salabat Jang, dated 1st Rajab 1164 A.H. (May 27, 1751).

'May you the gracious, discerning and benevolent Nawâb Sâhib live in peace.' Complains of his not writing and dislike of Dupleix' advances. He is being guided by the advice of his enemies to his own undoing. He should refrain from disturbances and obey Salabat Jang's orders.

No. 3.

AGREEMENT, dated 12th Shabân 1164 A.H. (July 6, 1751), under the signature and seal of Husain Dôst Khân *alias* Chandâ Sâhib confirmed by oaths relating to the appointment of the Nawâb to the Governorship of Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Ellore, Masulipatam, Mustaphanagar and Murtazanagar and the grant of two forts and a jaghir as desired by him and also making promises to raise the position and dignity of the Nawâb over all the nobles of the Deccan.

Received through M. Law on the 14th Shabân 1164 A.H. (July 8, 1751).

No. 4.

COWLE from Jâni Bêgam to Anwar-ud-dîn Khân (Muhammad 'Alî Khân), dated 13th Ramzân 1164 A.H. (August 6, 1751). Received 20th Ramzân.

Confirms Salabat Jang's promises. 'You may consider this agreement as having been made on behalf of the French by the Company and myself.'

The initial abstract describes Jâni Bêgam as follows:— 'This lady had great power in the affairs of the country

Every one had to approach her. By her the treaty with Nawâb Nâsîr Jang, the martyr, was settled.'

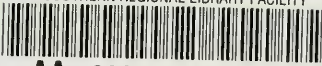
No. 5.

COWLE from M. Law to Anwar-ud-dîn Khân (Muhammad 'Alî Khân), dated 10th Ziqâidah 1164 A.H. (October 1, 1751).

Promises to procure a sanad from Salabat Jang in the terms already made, and that the promises of Husain Dôst Khân and Governor Zafar Jang shall be fulfilled.

In the initial abstract Law is described as Commander of the French forces before Trichinopoly.

NOMINAL INDEX.


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